0-315-01088-6

National Library of Canada | Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Canadian Theses Division | Division des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

48946

PERMISSION TO MICROFILM — AUTORISATION DE MICROFILMER

• Please print or type — Écrire en lettres moulées ou dactylographier

Full Name of Author — Nom complet de l'auteur

Pieternella Elizabeth Gall

Date of Birth — Date de naissance	Country of Birth — Lieu de naissance
January 9, 1947	Holland

Permanent Address — Résidence fixe

721 - 20th. Street N.
Lethbridge, Alberta T1H 4Z6

Title of Thesis — Titre de la thèse

Early School Leaving and School Progress of Native Students in the Northwest Territories: An Exploratory Study

University — Université

University of Alberta

Degree for which thesis was presented — Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée

Master of Education

Year this degree conferred — Année d'obtention de ce grade	Name of Supervisor — Nom du directeur de thèse
1980	Marilyn Aschelon-Smith

Permission is hereby granted to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

L'autorisation est, par la présente, accordée à la BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans l'autorisation écrite de l'auteur.

Date	Signature
October 9, 1980	Pieternella E. Gall

NL-91 (4/77)

National Library of Canada
Collections Development Branch

Canadian Theses on
Microfiche Service

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Direction du développement des collections

Service des thèses canadiennes
sur microfiche

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us a poor photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de mauvaise qualité.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

THIS DISSERTATION HAS BEEN MICROFILMED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

NL-339 (Rev. 8/80)

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

EARLY SCHOOL LEAVING AND SCHOOL PROGRESS OF NATIVE STUDENTS IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

by

© PIETERNELLA ELIZABETH GALL

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1980

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled .....
Early School Leaving and School Progress of Native.....
Students in the Northwest Territories: an Exploratory Study
submitted by Pieternella Elizabeth Gall.....
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education, Department of Educational Foundations.

Marilyn D. Austin-Smith
(Supervisor)

P. J. Casey

Gordon Jeans
External Examiner

Date May 28, 1980.

DEDICATION

The author would like to dedicate this work to the people whose caring and support have guaranteed the completion of this, what at times, seemed "an endless task": to my sister, Maria Barrados who started it all by introducing me to data analysis; to my parents, Ken and Mabel Versloot who have always loved and supported me, whatever the project undertaken; to my husband, Robert Gall who patiently and lovingly encouraged and often guided me; and finally to my mother-in-law, Violet and sister-in-law, Terry whose thoughtfulness and affection have been greatly appreciated.

ABSTRACT

School progress and early school leaving patterns of Indian and Inuit students who attended schools administered by the Department of Education of the Northwest Territories were the primary focus of the present study. Previous investigations and observations had clearly identified that large numbers of native students were early school leavers, and "cultural" explanations were most frequently utilized to explain this process.

In order to support an alternative "structural" explanation, the author examined data gathered from student files in the Yellowknife office of the Department of Education of the Northwest Territories for the period 1966 - 1975, and school withdrawal forms available from Statistics Canada for the period 1971 - 1975. Cohort group analysis procedures were employed to determine school retention and departure rates, as well as the intended destinations of school leavers.

Two distinct groups of school leavers were discovered and are seen from opposing perspectives: the one selects to live in large settlements according to the values of the dominant culture, while the other selects a viable return to traditional life styles. The results are interpreted to support the view that the members of the latter group are not properly viewed as "failures" in that sense normally ascribed in our society to school dropouts.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to acknowledge the assistance given by Northern Social Research Division, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs which provided funding for the research as well as a great deal of material. The author also would like to thank the Department of Education, Yellowknife, Northwest Territories whose personnel made available student files and records which became the main source of data for this research.

Finally, the author would like to thank the members of her committee - Marilyn I. Assheton-Smith, Robert Carney, and Gordon Fearn for their support and assistance.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PEOPLE AND SCHOOLS OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES	1
	Peoples in the Northwest Territories: Forty Years of Change	2
	Schools of the Northwest Territories: an Adopted System	14
	Summary	24
II.	EARLY SCHOOL LEAVING, DESCRIPTION AND EXPLANATION	31
III.	EARLY SCHOOL LEAVING IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES: EXAMINATION OF THE DATA	61
	The Sample and the Data Collection	62
	General Trends in Both Cohorts	65
	Discussion of Variables	71
	The Dependent Variables	72
	Analysis of Variance - Two-way	76
	Results of the 2-way ANOVAs -- Both Cohorts	77
	Results of the 2-way ANOVAs - Cohort A Only Years 1-5+	81
	Summary	82
	Crosstabulation -- Two-way	83
	Results of 2-way Crosstabulation -- Both Cohorts	84
	Age in Years When Students Started School	85
	Ethnic Status	88
	Number and Times Students Changed Schools	89
	Student's Present Location	95

Results of 2-way Crosstabulation - Cohort A Only..... 96

Results of 2-way Crosstabulation - Cohort B Only..... 96

Summary and Discussion..... 99

Conclusion..... 100

IV. EARLY SCHOOL LEAVING IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES: A SECOND DATA BASE..... 106

The Sample..... 107

Variables that Influence a Native Student's Decision to Continue or Discontinue Formal Education..... 108

Gender and Ethnic Status..... 111

Age of the Student..... 113

Grade Retardation..... 116

Lived at Home or Away from Home..... 122

Types of Withdrawals as Reflected by Students' Intended Destinations..... 124

Variables that Influence a Native Student's Choice of Intended Destination..... 125

Age of the Student at the Time of Withdrawal.... 128

Specific Jobs Filled by Native Students Withdrawing from School..... 130

Clarification of "Other" as a Student's Given Destination..... 132

Conclusion..... 135

V. ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION..... 138

BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 146

APPENDICES..... 156

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Description	Page
Chapter I		
I	Distribution of Population by Age for the Territories, 1931 and 1971	4
II	Percentage Distriubtion of Use of Official Languages in the Northwest Territories for the Population 15 Years and Over, 1931 and 1971	6
III	Distribution of Languages Spoken by the Population 15 Years and Over, No Longer Attending School Fulltime in the Northwest Territories, 1971	
IV	Labour Force 10 Years of Age and Over by Major Occupation Groups for Yukon and Northwest Territories, 1931 Compared to Labour Force 15 Years of Age and Over by Major Occupation Groups for Yukon and Northwest Territories	9
V	Percentage Distribution of the Population Attending School by Months at School for Canada and the Yukon and Northwest Territories, 1931	17
VI	Percentage Distribution of the Population 5 Years of Age and Over, by Literacy, for Canada and Yukon and Northwest Territoried, 1931	18
Chapter III		
I	Percentage Distribution of Students' Progress - Cohort A	66
II	Percentage Distribution of Students' Progress - Cohort B	71
III	Cumulative Frequency Distribution of Rate of Early School Leaving for the First Five Years in School both Cohorts	74
IV	Cumulative Frequency Distribution of Rate of Early School Leaving for Cohort A	75
V	Results of Analysis of Variance - Both Cohorts Years 1-5+	79
VI	Results of Analysis of Variance - Cohort A Years 1-10+	80
VII	Results of Analysis of Variance - Cohort B Years 1-5+	81

VIII	Rate of Early School Leaving by Age When Students Started School for the First Five Years in School for Both Cohorts	84
IX	Rate of Early School Leaving by Age When Students Started School for the 6th to 10th Years in School for Cohort A Only	85
X	Rate of Early School Leaving, the First Five Years Only, by the Students' Ethnic Status - Both Cohorts	87
XI	Rate of Early School Leaving, the 6th to 10th Years Only, by the Students' Ethnic Status - Cohort A	88
XII	Rate of Early School Leaving by Number of Times Students Changed Schools for Cohort A Years 1-5+	92
XIII	Rate of Early School Leaving by Number of Times Students Changed Schools for Cohort B Years 1-5+	93
XIV	Rate of Early School Leaving by Number of Times Students Changed Schools for Cohort A Years 6-10+	94
XV	Rate of Early School Leaving by Whether Students Lived at Home While Attending School for Cohort A Only	97
XVI	Rate of Early School Leaving by Whether Students Attended Kindergarten for Cohort B Only	98

Chapter IV

I	Percentage Distribution of Intended Destinations at Time of Withdrawal for Native Students in the Northwest Territories	109
II	Destinations of Students in the Northwest Territories by Gender and Ethnic Status	111
III	Age at Time of Withdrawal or Transference in Age Groups by Ethnic Status and Gender	114
IV	Rates of Grade Retardation in Years for Students for Whom Forms Were Completed by Gender and Ethnic Status	118
V	Comparison of Rates of Grade Retardation in the Survey of Education, Northwest Territories, 1972 and this Study	119
VI	Rates of Grade Retardation for all Students in Sample by Students' Intended Destinations	121

VII	Student's Destination by Whether or Not Student Lived at Home While Attending School	123
VIII	Percentage Distribution of Intended Destinations by Ethnic Status and Gender	126
IX	Intended Destinations by Age of Student at the Time of Withdrawal	129
X	Percentage Distribution of Levels of the Northern Economic Base in Which Early School Leavers are Finding Employment	131
XI	Percentage Distribution of Some Specific Reasons Non-Job Related for Withdrawing from School	133

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1.	Conditions of Social Existence -- A Model for Analysis	49

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Educators traditionally gauge their success on the basis of students' achievements. Long periods of academic endeavor have customarily been crowned with the awarding of a certificate that symbolized both student and school system success. Even today in Canada's advanced industrial society, the value of achieving high levels of education is not frequently challenged. Canadian contemporary society tends to view an education positively, as something desirable, and as a means of occupational and social mobility. Conversely, early school leaving, or "dropping out", and progress below the expected norm of one-grade-per-year, or "grade retardation" are seen as social problems, indicative of failure on the part of the student, the teacher, and the educational system as a whole.

This study will examine school progress and early school leaving of Inuit and Indian students who attend schools administered by the Department of Education in the Northwest Territories.[1] The educational system of the Northwest Territories is a system adopted from southern Canada, and the majority of teachers and administrators are Euro-Canadians[2] who have been educated, and lived most of their lives in southern Canada. Therefore, "early school leavers" in this study will refer to students who withdrew from the educational system before spending the minimum ten years in school.[3] This definition corresponds to the southern Canadian concept of early school leaving. The phenomenon is perceived as a serious problem by the Euro-Canadian educators and administrators in the Northwest Territories, but native

spokesmen although aware of the phenomenon, express major concern with the system as a whole, and with the fact that one people create and run the schools for another people. The Euro-Canadian educators, on the other hand, tend to view early school leaving, and low school achievement as isolated problems which can readily be resolved by making adjustments to the existing educational system.

However, the causes of students leaving school early in southern Canada and the Northwest Territories may not be the same. The phenomenon of early school leaving in the Northwest Territories cannot be examined in isolation from the context in which it occurs. The social milieu in which the present educational system exists has been created by a history of contact between Euro-Canadian civilization and the northern indigenous people. Thus, before examining the main theme of this research, the author will outline some of the major changes that have occurred in the Northwest Territories during the past forty years: the rapid changes in the size, distribution, and age of the northern population; the ever-growing dependency on southern Canada; changes in the main languages spoken; and the general theme of changes in the northern labour force over the past forty years. As well, the beginnings and establishment of formal schooling will be discussed, and some of the more recent directions taken by educators in the Northwest Territories will be examined.

CHAPTER ONE

An Introduction to the People and Schools of the Northwest Territories

The information for the following discussion has been drawn primarily from Canadian census and available descriptive material of the northern school system. The main focus of interest is general population trends and changes over a specific period of time. The addition of descriptive material further develops the context in which the phenomenon of native early school leaving occurs.

Census figures from the Northwest Territories have generally been unreliable. Even though doubt of the figures' accuracy exists, an examination of statistics of the populations that lived in the Northwest Territories during the 1931 and 1971 census[4] is fruitful, as from such an analysis the magnitude and direction of the changes that have occurred in the territories over a period of forty years become readily apparent.

The census years 1931 and 1971 were not chosen randomly although they do introduce one major problem. Census statistics until 1971 included the Yukon with the Northwest Territories. As one is unable to separate figures for the Yukon or the Northwest Territories, for the purpose of this study, the combined figures will be used. It must be assumed that the population breakdown for the combined Yukon Territory and the Northwest Territories in 1931 provide a resonable estimate for the population proportions in the Northwest Territories in that same year. This is not an unreasonable assumption for the purposes of this work.

1931 was chosen as previous census statistics show the inflated population due to the Yukon gold rush. By 1931, the rush was over and thus the census figures are more likely to be representative of the population in the Northwest Territories. The year 1971 was chosen as that is the most recent census from which statistics were available.

Peoples in the Northwest Territories : Forty Years of Change

In the Yukon and Northwest Territories in 1931, of a total population of 9,723 , 1,007 were classified as "other", while 8,716 were classified as Indian and Inuit.[5] The ethnic breakdown of Indian, Inuit, and "other" is not as informative as it initially appears. People classified as Indians are only those whose name appears on band lists; non-status Indians, persons of Indian ancestry who have become enfranchised under the Indian Act,[6] are excluded. Even if an individual identifies himself as Indian, if he does not have legal status as Indian, for the purpose of the census he is included in the category of "other". Similarly, Metis who stem from white-Indian ancestry, and who regard themselves as native but separate and apart from the Indians are for the census categorized as "other". White populations of Euro-Canadian descent are similarly classified. Therefore, the census category of "other" is not a non-native category but rather a residual category which includes both natives and non-natives.[7]

Therefore, in 1931 at least 90 percent of the population reported by the census as Indian and Inuit. Because the "other"

category included native people especially a number of Metis families, one might assume that in 1931 Euro-Canadians made up not 10 percent of the total population of the Yukon and Northwest Territories, but perhaps 5 percent. In 1971 the total population was 16,525; the population had more than quadrupled.

Racial origins were not reported in the 1971 census, and therefore ethnic breakdown of the 1971 Northwest Territories population is not available from this source.[8] However, in the report of the Mackenzie Valley pipeline inquiry, Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland, Mr. Justice Berger estimates the ethnic ancestry of the total population of the Northwest Territories at the time the report was written, 1976.[9] He states that there must be about 12,500 people of Indian ancestry in the Northwest Territories, 13,932 of Inuit ancestry, 15,000 "white" people of Euro-Canadian ancestry. Assuming that Justice Berger's figures are accurate or at least representative, by 1976 36.2 percent of the population of the Northwest Territories are of Euro-Canadian ancestry. Over a period of forty years, it can be estimated that the proportion of Euro-Canadians in the Northwest Territories has increased from a figure of about 5 percent to 36 percent.

Age distribution of the Northwest Territories population has remained young in comparison to the rest of Canada with approximately one third of the total population less than fifteen years of age. However, a comparison of the distribution of the population by age for 1931 and 1971 shows that there is actually a significant increase of the proportion of children in the population (see Table 1).

Table 1 - Distribution of Population by Age for the Territories, 1931 and 1971

Age Groups	Northwest & Yukon 1931 Total Population		Northwest 1971 Total Population	
	N	%	N	%
0 - 14	3,797	39.2	14,942	42.9
15 - 29	2,485	25.4	9,542	27.5
30 - 44	2,008	20.5	5,957	17.2
45 - 59	1,058	11.1	3,032	8.6
60 - 74	331	3.4	1,117	3.2
75 - 89	49	0.4	210	0.6
90 Plus	1	-	10	-
Total	9,723	100.0	34,810	100.0

Source: Census of Canada, 1931 and Census of Canada, 1971.

In 1931, 39.2 percent of the population was less than fifteen years of age while in 1971 this figure had increased to 42.9 percent. In 1931 25.4 percent was between fifteen and thirty years of age, 20.5 percent between thirty and forty-five, and 14.9 percent was forty-five years of age and over. By 1971 the fifteen to thirty group had risen to 27.5 percent, while the other two groups each lowered respectively to 17.2 percent and 12.4 percent.

The fact that the population of the Northwest Territories had quadrupled, and the percentage of the population of Euro-Canadian ancestry had risen from less than 5 percent to about 36 percent over the time span being examined has already been established in above discussions. These facts are pertinent when considering the distribution of the population by age groups. Proportional increases within age groups over the forty year period occurred only for the groups under the age of thirty. Age groups over thirty years of age

saw a proportional decrease. This phenomenon may be accounted for by two factors -- the increasing birth rate and decreasing infant mortality rate of the northern indigenous people, and the age distribution of migrants who come North to work for short periods of time.

Contact brought infectious diseases to the North against which few indigenous people had any resistance. One of the most prevalent was tuberculosis but influenza also took a heavy toll. By the late 1940's the health of the native people became one of the major problems confronting the Canadian Government and medical services were gradually expanded throughout the North, even in some of the remotest camps and villages.[10] But the facilities themselves could not, and have not solved the nature of the people's health problems, and even today health problems among the indigenous people are much more severe than those of other Canadians. The birth rate is much higher in the North than in the southern provinces, but the actual life span of the northern natives is drastically shorter than that of southern Canadians of Euro-Canadian ancestry.[11] Increased health problems may be attributable to the rapid social change that has occurred.

> ...the situation is all of a piece: when the native people's own culture is overwhelmed by another culture, the loss of tradition, pride and self-confidence is evident in every aspect of personal, family and social life. 12

As has been previously discussed, the majority of Euro-Canadians come to the Northwest Territories for employment. Most of the migrants with their families fall within the first two age groups, under thirty years of age. Young single men and women come to work for the government and large companies, and those that are married often bring their young families with them. After a period of time

working in the North, the majority return again to the South; some do decided to make their home in the North and stay, but only a handful.

> At Fort Resolution in the graveyards 85 years old, only two white adults, and two white children are buried. 13

While ethnicity and age distributions were changing in the territories, the languages spoken by the residents were also changing. In 1931, 77 percent of the population of the Northwest Territories spoke neither English nor French -- the two official languages of Canada (see Table 2). But in the 1930's, contact was still sporadic and centered mainly around trade. If, in fact, an Indian, or Inuit did not plan to leave his home, and only needed to speak either English or French in order to smooth his business transactions, a very limited English vocabulary would suffice. That in 1931, only 23 percent of the population was reported to speak English, or French, or both official languages does not, then, seem surprising. By 1971, however, English had become a language spoken by 71 percent of the population. In addition, 9 percent could speak both English

Table 2 - Percentage Distribution of Use of Official Languages in the Northwest Territories for the Population 15 Years and Over, 1931 and 1971

Official Languages Spoken	1931	1971
English only	15	71
French only	1	-
Both English and French	7	9
Neither English nor French	77	20
Total	100%	100%

Source: Census of Canada, 1931 and Census of Canada, 1971.

and French, thus a total of 80 percent of the population could speak some English, while only 20 percent could speak neither official language.

The recent widespread usage of English as the language of daily communications in the Northwest Territories has, to some extent, had a cohesive effect on political developments in the North. The ancestries of the northern indigenous people are rooted in several different tribes, who for years remained isolated, and even waged wars against each other. An Indian in the Northwest Territories might speak Dogrib, Kutchin, Loucheaux, Chipewyan, Yellowknife, Hare, or Slavey. The Inuit, the majority of whom speak Inupik, have developed over the years distinct dialects that vary greatly from one region to the other. English, which has become the most common single language spoken throughout the territories, has enabled several groups among the indigenous people to speak to each other.

However, some concern has been expressed by several native spokesmen that English, may, in fact, be replacing the indigenous languages completely. Of the population fifteen years of age and over, who were no longer attending school fulltime in 1971, 43 percent reported their mother tongues as either Indian or Eskimo, 45.1 percent as English and 11.9 percent as French or another language classified as "other" (see Table 3). Of the population when asked to report the language most often spoken at home, 60.5 percent reported English, 35.2 percent Indian and Eskimo, and 4.3 percent French, or "other". From the 1971 census figures the inference that English is beginning to replace the usage of the mother tongue, even in the home, appears to

Table 3 - Distribution of Languages Spoken by the Population Fifteen Years of Age and Over, No Longer Attending School Fulltime in the Northwest Territories, 1971

	Mother Tongue		Languages Most Often Spoken at the Home	
	N	%	N	%
English	7,980	45.1	10,710	60.5
Indian & Eskimo	7,610	43.0	6,240	35.2
French	890	5.0	415	2.3
Other	1,230	6.9	345	2.0
Total	17,710	100.0	17,710	100.0

Source: Census of Canada, 1971.

be substantiated.

The most dramatic change among the population of the territories was not ethnicity or language but the change in occupational roles played; during the years between 1931 and 1971 the range of occupations available to the labour force totally altered (see Table 4).[14] In 1931 the majority of northern residents were involved in occupations related to fishing, hunting and trapping. The remainder of the occupations that year could be directly linked to one of the three main institutions already transplanted from the South -- first, the church with its missionaries, nuns and teachers who ran the residential schools and ministered to "the needs" of the natives, spiritually, physically and emotionally; second, the Hudson Bay Company in the guise of the trade post manager who could determine trends in the northern economy, to some extent, by altering the cost of staples, or the price given for furs; third, the R.C.M.P., who as representatives of the Federal Government and symbols of law and order, came to administer the North and establish sovereignty.

Table 4 - Labour Force 10 Years of Age and Over by Major Occupation Groups for Yukon and Northwest Territories, 1931 Compared to Labour Force 15 Years of Age and Over by Major Occupation Groups for Yukon and Northwest Territories 1971 (1)

Major Occupation Groups	1931	1971
All Occupations	3,349	15,690
Managerial, Administration & Related	157	680
Natural Sciences, Engineering & Mathematics	-	405
Social Sciences & Related Fields	-	180
Religion	115	90
Teaching & Others Related	10	805
Medicine & Health	5	475
Artistic, Literary & Recreational	28	150
Clerical & Related	25	2,155
Sales	124	955
Service	66	2,640
Farming, Horticulture & Animal Husbandry	3	45
Fishing, Hunting, Trapping & Related	2,628(2)	20
Forestry & Logging	20	40
Mining & Quarrying Including Oil & Gas Field	21	30(3)
Processing	-	60
Machine Related	-	120
Fabricating, Assembling & Repairing	34(4)	690
Construction Trade	19	1,405
Operating Transport Equipment	31	925
Material Handling & Related	-	295
Other Crafts & Equipment Operation	-	315
Occupations Not Elsewhere Classified	60	295
Occupations Not Stated	-	2,915

(1) Excluding persons looking for work prior to January 1, 1970 or who never worked.
(2) Includes 1,102 Indians and 1,355 Eskimos.
(3) The number for mining appears rather low; however, much of the mining force is actually included in many of the other categories.
(4) This figure is only approximate. In some districts Eskimo women were fairly commonly returned as sewers.

Source: Census of Canada, 1931 and Census of Canada, 1971.

By 1971 the major source of occupational change was government proliferation that coincided with the arrival in the Northwest Territories of the federally controlled welfare state. The new occupations were predominately those established by the government to administer health, education, and welfare services which came to be provided in various regional centers. These centers, in turn, grew was the Euro-Canadians accustomed to urban living began to duplicate southern urbanization.

Even before the Second World War prospecting and mining brought a significant number of men in search of hidden minerals that promised wealth and riches. By the 1960's for each new exploration, new means of transportation were developed, new access roads opened, and more southern professionals arrived bringing with them more southern technology. Investigations into industrial development in the Northwest Territories...

> ...revealed two things: first, that the native people have not participated in the industrial economy on a permanent basis; and secondly, that the native people have paid a high price in terms of social impact wherever the industrial economy has penetrated the North. 15

Ironically, the occupational group of fishing, hunting, trapping and related occupations in 1931 accounted for 78 percent of the total labour force, but by 1971 this category included only twenty individuals. This change reflects not only changes in the labour force activity but also the assumptions about the nature of work and the usage of occupational categories by census gatherers. These results typify innumerable misunderstandings and misconceptions internal to relations between the northern natives and Euro-Canadians since contact began.

To most Euro-Canadians trapping, hunting, or fishing is a job

just like any other job, and if one wants to determine the number of people who make their living in this fashion, one simply counts the number of people who ran a trap line, or fished at a particular time.

> The native people, however, do not see trapping as a job; it is rather, a way of life based on the use of the land and its resources; running a trapline is but one of a number of seasonal activities. A trapper is, therefore, someone who sees himself as following that way of life. A man who works for wages with a seismic exploration crew might still regard himself as a trapper because he intends to use part of his new wages to buy a new snowmobile, a new boat, new traps or a new rife. 16

But according to the census gatherer, the native of this example would be either a wage labourer, or if "out of work" at that particular time, unemployed.

The credibility of such census statistics is immediately suspect. Figures such as those shown in Table 4 should be treated as significant to the extent that they reflect changes that have occurred in the types of jobs available. Many of the occupational categories listed in 1971 require that the employee have advanced levels of education and highly professional and specialized training. Few natives would be able to meet such prerequistes; consequently, most of these jobs are filled by migrants from the South. However, the process of classifying individuals as "employed" or "unemployed" and listing their occupation is a phenomenon innate to southern Canadian society, and the fact that any such statistics portray a rather biased view of northern society is the consequence of two different groups of people, viewing the same phenomenon but perceiving something different.

Associated with all the above changes have been changes with the settlement patterns in the Northwest Territories. In 1931 all of

the Northwest Territories was classified as rural but by 1971 in the Northwest Territories almost one half of the population is classified as urban, that is 16,830 people of the total population of 34,810 live in population centres larger than 1,000 in size.

Although one might expect this category to be largely a male migratory work force, in fact, the ratio of males to females did not change significantly over the period being examined, as in 1931 54 percent of the population was male and 46 percent female, while in 1971, the figures were 53 percent and 47 percent respectively.

Although the Euro-Canadian population has increased dramatically during the past forty years, it would appear that the majority do not consider the North their home. Most Euro-Canadians go to the Northwest Territories to work for the Government of Canada, the Government of the Northwest Territories, or the oil, gas and mining industries, with the intention of staying only a few years. Some do stay but the majority return to the South.

> A large percentage of the while population in the North is on rotation: the numbers increase, but the faces constantly change. 17

Also, the majority of Euro-Canadians cluster around the growing urban areas which have become centers for government services. In the urban communities newcomers to the North are quick to replicate the social institutions found in southern Canadian society, so although the geographic terrain is radically different, the pattern of community development and institutions is adopted from southern Canada.

In summary, it might be said that over at least two centuries European influence has been marking life throughout the Northwest

Territories. Initially, contact with Euro-Canadian civilization was through agents who represented the Hudson Bay Company, the church, or the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. At first contact was intermittent but...

> ...its impact was pervasive. White society dictated the places and terms of exchange, took care to ensure that its rituals (social as well as religious and political) took precedence in any contact between native and white, and provided a system of incentives that was irresistable. Political, religious and commercial power over the lives of native people came to reside in the triumvirate of policeman, priest and Hudson Bay store manager.
>
> Behind these agents at the frontier lay the power of the metropolis as a whole, a power that was glimpsed occasionally when a ship arrived, a plan flew overhead, or a law court with a judge and jury came to hold court. White people in the North were powerful because of what they did, the goods they dispensed, and all they represented. 18

In 1931 the mere handful of Euro-Canadians in the Northwest Territories had already established power, power far behond their meager number.

The traditional way of life based on the fur trade still existed in 1931. But the fur trade way of existence nurtured dependence on technology and staples from the South. In the early phases of contact Euro-Canadians, foreign to the North and frequently unable to cope with the hardships of northern life, depended on the resourcefulness of the natives for their survival. With time, however, the symmetrical relationship of interdependence between Euro-Canadians and natives slowly eroded into a relationship of dominance by the Euro-Canadians as more and more of the natives' fortunes and economic well-being became interwoven and tied to the flucuations of the fur market, which in turn was controlled by the southern metropolis economy.

By 1971 there had been an obvious shift in power, leaving the indigenous people with only nominal power and economic self-determination.

As the numbers of southerns present in the North increased so did the numbers of southern modelled institutions. As well, economic dependency on industries developed and controll by Euro-Canadians from the South increased, thus firmly establishing native dependency on the southern metropolis economy. The Euro-Canadian influence is evident throughout all aspects of northern life. The next section of this chapter will discuss schooling as an extention of the Euro-Canadian influence.

Schools of the Northwest Territories: an Adopted System

Crises in the North tend to be handled by reverting to short-run solutions, such as the provision of health and welfare measures that was the focus of government involvement in the 1950's, but underscoring all native-Euro-Canadian contact was the need to find a solution to the "native problem". Educating the indigenous people was thought to be the necessary long-run solution as only then could the natives fully participate in the wage economy and "reap the benefits of civilization". To view education as an effective instrument of cultural change is not a recent idea, but rather this ideology has permeated native-Euro-Canadian contact since it began.

Prior to contact a young Indian or Inuit acquired his language, cultural tradition, and skills of daily survival by participating in, and observing the life of his peers and elders. The concept of a formal education was foreign to the indigenous people, and was introduced by the Euro-Canadians. Under the British North American Act, which established Canada in 1867, responsibility for schools was assigned to

the provincial governments; however, Indians and lands reserved for the Indians were assigned to the federal governments.[19] This has meant, in the provinces, provincial school systems for non-Indians and federal school systems for Indians. To some degree this divided system was replicated in the Northwest Territories, but by 1969 all schooling was turned over to the territorial government.[20]

From the late 1800's and into the 1900's education, although legislatively the responsibility of the federal government, remained a moral obligation of the missionaries,[21] while the Canadian government remained remote and almost totally removed from the North. Throughout the vast territory, the missionaries attempted to give education and medical assistance, but the churches were greatly limited in both funds and manpower. Thus, any government support offered was of great assistance.

In 1867, the year of Confederation, the Grey Nuns established the first residential school in Fort Providence, and in 1896 the government gave a grant of two hundred dollars to assist in the educating of its twenty-six students. In 1894 the government had made a similar grant to an Anglican school at Fort Resolution.

Children were taken from their homes at an early age, and kept in school for up to ten months of the year. The basics -- arithmetic, reading, and writing -- were taught as well as religion. Instruction was in English by educators from the South. The average length of an education was three or four years. By the 1940's the few day schools that existed were those that had been established to teach the children of the Euro-Canadian migrants who had come from the South.

> There was no doubt about the purpose of the boarding schools; it was the same throughout Canada. It was expressed plainly by Hayter Reed, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, in the Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs in 1893: Experience has proved that the industrial and boarding schools are productive of the best results in Indian education. At the ordinary day school the children are under the influence of their teacher for only a short time each day and after school hours they merge again with the life of the reserve...But in boarding or industrial schools the pupils are removed for a long period from the leadings of this uncivilized life and receive constant care and attention. It is therefore in the interest of the Indians that those institutions should be kept in an efficient state as it is in their success that the solution of the Indian problem lies. 22

On the whole, the progress of formal education in the Northwest Territories was slow and unevenly distributed. The vastness of the territory deterred any great advances being made by the churches' missionary efforts, and the seasonal movements of both Indians and Inuit disrupted continuity.

By 1931, according to the census figures, 244 students were attending school, 22 for less than three months, and 222 for between four and nine months (see Table 5). Thus 3 percent of the total population of the territories was reported in attendance at a school. Education was not as widely used by other Canadians at that time when compared to the 1970's: at the time of the census only 21 percent of the total Canadian population was reported attending school. Nevertheless, the figure of 3 percent for the territories illustrates how much smaller proportion of the northern population had any exposure to formal education.

Table 5 - Percentage Distribution of the Population Attending School by Months at School for Canada and the Yukon and Northwest Territories, 1931*

	Canada	Yukon and Northwest Territories
Under 1-3 Months	2 (47,331)	9 (22)
4-9 Months	98 (2,112,124)	91 (222)
Total Attending School	100% (2,159,461)	100% (244)

* The figures of school attendance for all of Canada were included to provide a basis for comparison.
Source: Census of Canada, 1931.

A percentage distribution of literacy was also recorded in the 1931 census (see Table 6). A measurement of literacy is always problematic as the basis for determining literacy is somewhat nebulous. The major limitation of these statistics is that when an individual is recorded as being able to read and write, "how well" or "to what level of difficulty" is not indicated. Given that the accuracy of the statistics are questionable, the literacy figures for the population of the Northwest Territories, five years of age and over, do give some indication of the inroads educators had made by 1931. Of the population five years of age and over, 35 percent were reported being able to read and write, 1 percent to be able to only read, and 64 percent to be able to neither read nor write. Again these figures are markedly lower than those for the rest of Canada, in which 92 percent of the same population are reported as able to read and write. The conclusion that can be drawn, in spite of the numerous short-comings of the census figures, is that by 1931 perhaps one third of individuals in the Northwest and Yukon Territories had received some formal education.

Table 6 - Percentage Distribution of the Population 5 Years of Age and Over, by Literacy, for Canada and the Yukon and Northwest Territories, 1931*

	Canada	Yukon and Northwest Territories
Can Read and Write	92 (8,582,985)	35 (2,929)
Can Read Only	1 (51,709)	1 (118)
Can Neither Read Nor Write	7 (667,677)	64 (5,352)
Total	100% (9,302,371)	100% (8,399)

* Literacy, for the census, was not restricted to literacy in the official languages. It is possible that some of the literacy that was recorded referred to literacy in an Inuit, Indian or other language.

Source: Census of Canada, 1931.

In addition, the teachers of these schools were not always well trained, nor were the books and classroom materials even close to adequate. The mission schools tended to concentrate on religious and moral teachings and that combined with the removal of children from their families and forbidding them to speak their native languages, abetted to minimize the effects education had on the social and economic patterns in the indigenous way of life.

> The inadequate system of education that the missions established was bound to give way, sooner or later to a broader more comprehensive system operated by the government and patterned after those in the Canadian provinces. 23

Berger reported that by 1950 less than 15 percent of the native young people in the Northwest Territories had any schooling, a figure even smaller than the literacy estimate above would suggest.

> Most native people still spoke only their own languages and the culture of the northern communities remained rooted in the native values and northern economy. 24

In 1955 a new educational program for the Northwest Territories

was announced by Jean Lesage, the minister of Northern Affairs. In the late forties the federal government had begun to erect day schools as government officials felt that the obvious solution to the apparent lack of formal education among the indigenous people was reversing the lack of educational facilities. Lesage's new program promised even more schools, and the immediate consequence of the new legislation was that the pace of construction increased. More and more facilities were provided and in a matter of a few years, an astonishing number of schools, with separate residences for the teacher, had been built.

Many of the day schools were built near the trading posts and missions which were usually located far from fishing and hunting camps, or trap lines, but these new facilities which had been so readily constructed at government expense, all too often, stood empty.

> Too often, especially in the early 1950's, the classroom remained vacant and unused for long periods because Eskimo families that are not held in a settlement by wage employment or handicrafts, and not maintained there at government expense because of infirmity or distresses, must hunt and fish and trap for their daily bread, and these occupations commonly keep them for weeks and months in places far from the settlement schools. 25

Hostels, large and small, were erected next to the schools as housing students in hostels appeared the only means of bringing education to the scattered population, and submersion into either a totally English or French environment was still felt to be the most effective method of instruction.

In 1958 education in the Northwest Territories became the responsibility of the newly created Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.[26] Since that time all the teachers that went to the North have had to be certified teachers. Also the Alberta curriculum

designated for use in the Western Arctic, and the Ontario curriculum for the Eastern Arctic. Teaching in either offical Tanguage, French or English, was compulsory.

> Facilities (schools and hostels), equipment (books and related materials), teachers (certified to meet the standards of the dominant society), curricula (developed for the Alberta school population), and laws (compulsory attendance and length of school year) were imposed on the traditional way of life of the native peoples. 27

The state of education in the Northwest Territories in 1964, from the educator's or administrator's perspective is expressed aptly in the following quotation:

> The government has succeeded in its school-building program, in recruiting the necessary teachers, and in drawing the children into the classrooms; but it has failed as yet to inspire in those children the eagerness to learn which we look for in white children, or even the wish to acquire a competent knowledge of English. 28

By the late sixties the majority of school-age children in the North were in school; however, the educators were concerned because the levels of achievement still remained low when compared to those of southern Canada. On April 1, 1969 the responsibility of education in the Mackenzie District was transferred from the federal Department of Indian and Northern Affairs in Ottawa to the territorial Department of Education in Yellowknife.

The 1971 census figures reflect the vastness of the change that had occurred throughout the Northwest Territories. Over a period of forty years comprehensive education came to the North, and some of the inroads that educators had previously only been able to hope for, were now being made. The new Department of Education could claim with confidence that school attendance approximated the South's with between

95 and 98 percent of all children of school age were now attending school, albeit only a few actually continued past elementary school, and even fewer graduated from secondary school.[29]

In 1971 of the students attending school fulltime, 86.4 percent were attending an elementary school, 11.9 percent a secondary school, and 1.7 percent a university. Only 0.3 percent of the students participated in a vocational program in the elementary system, and only 0.7 percent were in such programs at the secondary level. Of the total population no longer attending school fulltime in the Northwest Territories, levels of schooling previously acquired were reported: 55.9 percent of the total population had achieved a level of schooling less than grade 9, while 35.8 percent had acquired some schooling at the secondary level, and 8.3 percent had a university education. At the elementary level 3.0 percent had received some vocational training compared to 9.5 percent at the secondary level.[30]

Although formal education is more common in the Northwest Territories today than it was forty years ago, just over half of the total population no longer attending school at the time of the 1971 census had only an elementary education, and the majority of students attending school were in the elementary grades.[31] Thus, levels of academic completion in the total population, both in and out of school, were considerably lower than those in southern Canada.

In 1972 the Northwest Territories Department of Education completed its survey of education which proposed to evaluate the existing program and to formulate the general principles and objectives of education in the North. Many of the educational aim-statements put forth

in the report, as is often the case with statements of this nature...

> ...are often phrased in such generalities or expressed by use of "virtue words" that their full implications cannot be grasped without detailed analysis or a close examination of the procedures recommended for achieving these aims. The goals of northern education proposed in the documents abound in phrases suggesting shining ideals: opportunity for maximum development satisfying personal life, restoring pride, self-respect, and confidence, preservation of cultural heritage, appreciation of the sum total of human experience, preparing participating members of the rapidly changing complex society, creating good leaders and good citizens. 32

In the past, although never formally stated as such, the general aim of native education in the territories was a kind of assimilation or integration. The Educational Survey brought forward a new outlook in that it proposed to preserve native languages and cultures, and as much as possible, the traditional ways of life. Use of native languages in primary grades, native classroom assistants, curriculum based on the community and created by individual teachers within the community, and an increase in the number of schools, each offering the total range of grades so that the hostel system would eventually disappear,[33] were the immediate solutions offered which were to actualize the theoretical aims. Four years later Bernard Gillie, Director of Education for the Northwest Territories from 1968 to 1972 stated that nothing really had changed since the transfer of power.

> The plan developed in detail in the Survey of Education, Northwest Territories, 1972 is sound only for a program having its base in a belief that gradually the Dene people will be absorbed into the dominant Canadian culture and their identity as a distinct segment of the nation will disappear. 34

On the other hand, the present Department of Education strongly deny that their aims are to assimilate or integrate.

By the seventies, the indigenous people of the Northwest Territories had begun to speak out. The people themselves, had seen many negative results from formal schooling, and basic to their protests is the point that Euro-Canadians dominate the system, and that as a result, the northern system of formal education reflects Euro-Canadian views of what education ought to be.

> The Dene allowed the government to educate their group when schools were first built in the North. The Dene believed the government could take care of their interests and that they knew what was best for them Then a few years ago, people started to realize that something was wrong. There developed a gap between young and old. The elders had much difficulty in relating to the young. Many of the young lost the language, the values, and the views which they had learned from their elders. The elders realized that what was happening to their young in school was not exactly what they wanted. The government was literally stealing young people from their families. They saw that, if the situation remained unchanged, they as a people would be destroyed in a relatively short time. 35

The native people insist that they should control the education of their children, as only then will the children be taught their own culture. Furthermore, the spokesmen clearly state that their objective is not to supplant all that exists in the present system reflecting Euro-Canadian views with whatever would reflect native views, but rather to achieve a balance between Euro-Canadian culture on the one hand, and native on the other.

> ...we want our children to have the academic option open to them, so if they wanted, they could go on through university or whatever; but we don't want this at the cost of losing our life, our culture, our skills, our tradition, our language. 36

The Department of Education sees the implementation of local control of existing schools as the answer to native demands. The school

in Rae-Edzo is currently controlled and run by the community. However, the Department of Education has a past record of attempting to establish an educational system that reflected the desires of the indigenous people. The success, at the most, has been marginal. Local control appears to be another such attempt, and as local control now exists in the North, it represents only another modification of the present educational system. Whether local control will in fact enable the Inuit and Indians of the Northwest Territories to really control their children's education is a question that only time can answer.

Summary

Contact between the indigenous people of the Northwest Territories and people of Euro-Canadian ancestry has occurred over the past several hundred years. Contact, initially was sporadic, but with time contact centered around specific institutions within society. Formal education, the focus of this study, is one such social institution. Formal education has become a social institution in the North; the system as it exists today is an institutuion adopted from southern Canada. The indigenous people are expressing dissatisfaction with this system, and future alterations to the system appear imminent.

Educators in the North are confronted with meeting the educational needs of a rapidly changing and highly differentiated population. Within the Northwest Territories a portion of the population, some of whom are highly transitory, hold expectations of the educational system that are similar to those of southern Canada. Others, particularly among the native population are highly dissatisfied with

the southern model of education which in some cases is perceived as alienating and irrelevant to their perceived life goals. The tensions in northern education between these two perspectives are found not only in the area of education but in varying degrees throughout northern society.

Furthermore, schools in the North appear to be facing serious difficulties in maintaining the interest and commitment of native students. Many educators in the Northwest Territories and people generally knowledgeable of the North express the opinion that large numbers of native students are early school leavers. Early school leaving and lowering academic achievements may be interpreted as indicators that many indigenous people are dissatisfied with the present school system.

Inuit and Indian students' progress through school will be the focus of this study as through the examination of school progress, a complete picture of school leaving will be obtained. A comparison of northern early school leavers with northern students staying in school is not possible within the parameters of the data. As has been previously discussed, the recording of ethnic status has become a delicate issue; therefore, throughout this study only the school progress of those students we can say with absolute certainty are Inuit or Indian will be examined.

In the chapters which follow the author will identify alternative explanations for the phenomenon of early school leaving and will present data which will partially test these alternative explanations. Although there will be considerable analysis of these

data, it should be stated at the outset that this is nevertheless an exploratory study, an attempt to shed some light on the process of early school leaving in the Northwest Territories. The concluding chapter will discuss the possibility of more rigorous research into northern school retention and school leaving.

FOOTNOTES

1. Throughout the thesis the term "dropout" has been used in a very specific and limited way. This is not an exhaustive classification as among students enrolled in schools "dropouts" of other types may exist, such as "psychological dropouts", "virtual dropouts" due to poor attendance, to name but two. Also, the Northwest Territories was chosen as the area for focus and is equivalent to using province boundaries for research. As a result, problems of aggregation develop which will be dealt with as much as possible by controlling for ethnic status, Inuit and Indian.

2. Much of the literature uses the term "white" to refer to people from southern Canada, or of an ancestry other than that of Canada's indigenous people. The term "white" is a misnomer; therefore, throughout this study "Euro-Canadian" will be used to specify individuals not native to the North, usually from southern Canada and of European ancestry. "Indigenous" will refer to the Inuit, Indian, and Metis people who were born and live in the North.

3. Grade 10 rather than Grade 12 was chosen as the final year of schooling that is to be examined in this study. 1971 census figures indicate that 52% of the population out of school had 8 years of schooling or less; 26% had some high school; 13% some vocational or special training (non-university) while 9% attended universities. The author concluded that the number of students actually completing Grade 12 is very small. Furthermore, Grade 10 seemed to be a major turning point as many programs become available at this level of formal schooling. Also, in the South Grade 10 or age 16 is the legal age when a young person can leave school by choice.

4. The census years 1931 and 1971 were not chosen randomly. Census statistics previous to 1931 show the inflated population due to the Yukon gold rush. By 1931 the rush was over, and thus the census statistics appear more representative of life in the North than do the inflated figures. During the 1920's the fur trade was thriving and the indigenous people were relatively well off economically. Economic deprevation seemed at its worst in the period directly after the Second World War when the bottom fell out of the fur market. In the 1950's the federal government became actively involved in directing the course of development in the North. Thus, 1931 was chosen as that particular census represents a population of predominately indigenous people who still lived off the land and were economically self-sufficient. 1971 was chosen as that is the most recent census for which all statistics are available.

5. Table 1 - Distribution of Racial Origins of the Population, Canada and Yukon and Northwest Territories, 1931

	Canada	Northwest & Yukon Territories
Indian & Eskimo	1 (128,890)	90 (8,716)
Other	99 (10,247,896)	10 (1,007)
Total	100% (10,376,786)	100% (9,723)

Eskimo is used rather than Inuit in both 1931 and 1971 census, however, Inuit will be used throughout this thesis. When languages spoken are mentioned, the general categories of Indian and Eskimo similar to the census classification will be used to differentiate between the indigenous languages and dialects spoken.

6. Although laws were in existence affecting Indians before 1876, in that year, the existing laws were amended, consolidated and added to and called the Indian Act of 1876. Subsequently, the Act was updated and altered even up to present days.

7. The term "Dene" is the term the Indians of the Northwest Territories who share the Athabascan language used to designate themselves. "Dene" refers to both Indians and Metis.

8. In the early 1970's ethnicity was not recorded on the students files in the Department of Education, Yellowknife, nor in the the 1971 census as the documenting of a person's racial origins was seen as a violation of his human rights.

9. Mr. Justice Thomas Berger, The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry: Volume One, Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland. (Minister of Supply and Services Canada,1977), p. 147. Justice Berger quotes his sources as the government of the Northwest Territories, the Indian Brotherhood, the Metis Association, and Dr. Charles Hobart.

10. Ibid., p. 153.

11. Marilyn Assheton-Smith, "The Metis of Alberta Society Revisited: Dr. Card in the Sixties". (Unpublished paper, 1980).

12. Berger, op. cit., p. 153.

13. Ibid., p. 146.

14. In the 1931 census, labour force participation for the population ten years of age and over was given for both Yukon and Northwest Territories combined. The 1971 census figures chosen for comparison thus also represent both the Northwest Territories and the Yukon,

but the figures represent a population fifteen years of age and over. The purpose of this study is not to innumerate the number of individuals in particular occupations for the Northwest Territories as the inclusion of the Yukon and the two different minimum ages of the populations are then misleading. Rather the objective is to illustrate the vastness of the change in the types of occupations available.

15. Berger, op. cit., p. 148.

16. Ibid., p. 100.

17. Ibid., p. 146.

18. Ibid., p. 86.

19. In 1939 under a decision made by the Supreme Court, Inuit are to be considered Indians for the purpose of the BNA Act.

20. Marilyn Assheton-Smith and Carl Urion (eds.), A Collection of Readings for Educational Foundations 455. (Unpublished, 1978), p. 5.

21. Most of the historical facts of the following section are found in Keith J. Crowe, A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada. (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1974). and Diamond Jenness, Eskimo Administration: II Canada Arctic Institute of North America, Technical Paper No. 14. (Ottawa: 1972).

22. Berger, op. cit., p. 90.

23. Jenness, op. cit., p. 123.

24. Berger, op. cit., p. 91.

25. Jenness, op. cit., p. 126.

26. Ibid., p. 129.

27. Berger, op. cit., p. 91.

28. Jenness, op. cit., p. 131.

29. Department of Education, "Survey of Education, Northwest Territories 1972". (Yellowknife: 1972), p. 1.

30. In 1971, 65.5% of students attending school fulltime in Canada were attending an elementary school, 28.6% a secondary school, and 5.9% university. 0.2% of students in elementary school were involved in vocational programs, 1.1% were at the secondary level. Of the population no longer attending school fulltime, 40.1% had previously received an education less than Grade 9, 50.6% at the secondary level,

and 9.3% some university. Only 2.4% and 10% had received vocational training at the elementary and secondary levels respectively. Furthermore, it should be remembered that the figures given in the text that indicate the various levels achieved by individuals are for all residents. It would be wrong to assume that the pattern represents the overall education levels of natives of the Northwest Territories as the migrant population is also included in this sample.

31. Census of Canada, 1971."Distribution of Population 5 Years of Age and Over, Attending and Not Attending School Fulltime by Level of Schooling, For Canada and Northwest Territories, 1971".

32. N.C. Bhattacharya, "Education in the Northwest Territories". in The Alberta Journal of Educational Research, Vol. XIX, No. 3, September, 1973, p. 249.

33. A major problem in the North which directly affects the proposal that curriculum should be created by the teacher to reflect the community is the high teacher turn over. Diamond Jenness reported that 37.5% of teachers resign at the end of the first year, 34.5% at the end of the second year, and 31.5% at the end of the third year. (These figures were obtained from the Northern Administration Branch of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.) By 1977 the reported annual "turnover" was 27%. One can rightly question how accurate a teacher could view the communities' needs, or how prepared many of the teachers really are for the life in northern communities. Lack of continuity in teaching staff seems a definite problem, and which may be one of the sources of lack of success of most of the department's newer programs.

34. Berger, op. cit., p. 93. During the 1960's while Gilles was Director of Education, he supported the general directions of education in the North that later (such as this quotation from his presentation at the Berger Hearings) he would harshly criticize.

35. Mel Watkins, Dene Nation - The Colony Within. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), p. 142.

36. Berger, op. cit., p. 181.

CHAPTER TWO

Early School Leaving, Description and Explanation

The progress of Northern Inuit and Indian students through school including their withdrawal from school is the focus of this study. Through an examination of school progress it is suggested that a complete picture of school leaving might better be obtained. The previous chapter provided a brief description of the people and economic structure of the Northwest Territories as well as a brief history of education, as a background to the data analyzed. This chapter will analyze selected appropriate evidence from the literature that pertains to research done in the area of early school leaving.

Although numerous "dropout" studies exist, very little specific research deals with the phenomenon of early school leaving in the Northwest Territories. Furthermore, much of this "dropout" literature gives numerous statistics, but consistently fails to give explanations that are readily applicable to the socio-economic situation of the native people in the North.

Thus, the analysis of literature will initially focus primarily on the descriptive research of early school leaving, and wherever possible, research dealing with native people will be cited. Thereafter, literature that provides explanations for the phenomenon of minority groups inability to achieve at the same levels as groups in the mainstream of society will be examined.

Terms such as "early school leaving", "dropping out", and "failing" imply a subjective judgement as to what is an acceptable

level of education. By common definition anyone who does not attain this "accepted level" is an early school leaver. The question of what is an acceptable level of education -- university entrance, junior matriculation, elementary school graduation -- becomes the basis of extensive debate since not only are questions involved as to how much basic education each person should have, but also the specific objectives of education for specific sets of individuals (for example, in the Northwest Territories) is often considered, as well as how much of this education is readily available.

Most studies on early school leaving and educational and/or occupational attainment employ a theoretical framework that links the individual's background experiences to in-school experiences, under the assumption that variation in educational plans and decisions can be accounted for by an analysis of numerous intervening variables. (Government of Saskatchewan, Vol. 3, 1973; Lichter, 1962; Tannenbaum, 1966) In such models, socio-economic status, as determined by father's occupation, is often used as one of the main variables to describe family background, income level, life-style, social contacts and orientation to school.

Most of the literature of school dropouts and educational attainment deals predominately with southern Canadian and American society exclusive of the native populations. These studies assume a basic common commitment to the type of education found in southern schools and to competative job seeking. Not all members of the society share the same degree of commitment to these values, but there is a basis for understanding the behaviour expected in the educational

system as based on individual striving, competition, and delayed rewards. The following examples selected from the literature will serve to demonstrate the above points.

A study carried on by L.F. Cervantes investigated the social background of three hundred youths half of whom were dropouts. He used a matched sample technique and both "dropouts" and "stayins" were given identical questions through an interview schedule, a questionaire, and the Thematic Apperception Test. The study investigated the family, friend-family system, the peer group, school experiences, and the phantasy life of the dropouts.(Cervantes, 1963) In this study, Cervantes stressed the importance of the high school diploma for the economic well-being of today's citizen and concluded by pleading that all members of society become actively involved in preventing all youths from dropping out of school.

Daniel Schrieber directed an extensive project on school dropouts in New York city. (Schrieber, 1964) The basic premise was that guidance, co-ordination, and administrative programs can prevent the dropout. It was felt that attitudes and values are transferred not by example but through experience from adults to youths. Patterns of self-defeating behaviour thus may be passed on through generations.

E.S. Scragg carried out "A Survey of Dropouts from Alberta Schools -- 1963 to 1968". (Scragg, 1968) Various intervening variables such as father's and mother's occupations, socio-economic background, levels of academic achievement, interests, etc. were examined to determine which differed significantly for dropouts and graduates. Gross dropout rates for Alberta were calculated with a disproportionate number of males. Furthermore, student plans at the grade nine level

appear unreliable predictors of subsequent achievement.

Gordon Rancier studies a proportion of high-school dropouts in a rural school division in Alberta over a period of one year to find out why they dropped out of school and if and how dropping out could be prevented. "Lack of vocational offering" and "outside attraction and desire for independence" were the reasons given by almost half the students who were early school leavers. (Rancier, 1963)

Numerous similar studies could be sighted, but it should be apparent from the above studies basic to this type of research are the underlying assumptions that firstly an education is of primary importance and a necessity in today's world, and secondly, that early school leaving should be prevented at all costs.

The author's investigations have revealed that no detailed study has been made of the problem of early school leaving in the Northwest Territories. However, research of a more general and restricted type has been completed on native people in both the North and South. For example, the study of Alaskan native secondary school dropouts is one that attempted to incorporate cultural values, motivations and rights for education in three selected Alaskan villages and demonstrated the differences between these cultural groups. It was interesting in that it took a very humanistic view and attempted to incorporate native value systems. (Ray, Ryan, and Parker, 1962)

One author (Stanbury, 1973) found that for the population of British Columbia Indians living off the reserve, age fifteen and over, the level of educational achievement was well below that of the total British Columbian and Canadian populations. The educational gap between British Columbian Indians living off the reserve and other

British Columbian and Canadian populations progressively narrowed as one moved from older to younger age cohorts in that study. The implication emerges that British Columbian status Indians have dropped out of school at a higher rate in the past than today's children; however, the study does not indicate specific reasons for this change. Furthermore, significant differences in B.C. Indian (status and non-status) educational attainment was found by region of residence and by linguistic/cultural group for status Indians living off the reserve.

Another study of four reserves in the Georgian Bay District examined school progress, school retention, and grade retardation. (Ellis and Stand, 1970) These authors concluded that these reserves had much lower dropout rates than those nationally reported while grade retardation seemed more prevelant in specific location of the reserve which was examined. They did not attempt to explain why this was the case.

Focused literature that deals specifically with native dropouts in the Northwest Territories was not discovered by the author. Further, many of the studies of early school leaving in southern Canada and the United States are simply descriptive, not providing an explanation of the phenomenon. Therefore, literature from across North America, written by educators, anthropologists, and sociologists will now be examined to identify theories and explanations. Two types of explanations emerge which can be used to explain the fact that Northwest Territories' native students fail to achieve what southern Canadians consider "basic levels of education", and correspondingly leave school at relatively young ages. These classes of explanation will be referred

to as cultural and structural explanations in the ensuing discussion.

Although the term cultural is not an ideal adjective for the first set of explanations, these explanations all locate the lack of "success" of the native student in the student himself or in his family and community; a number of them specifically use the term culture and it is for this reason that the term is taken to designate the general category.

Nevertheless, such explanations may be further subdivided into those which assume the native culture (and/or genetic capacity of native students) is so backwards that they cannot benefit from education, and those which assume that the culture is either lacking certain important elements of European culture or is very different from European culture. The first of these sets of explanations implies that amelioration is neither necessary nor possible; the second implies that amelioration may be effective but different types of ameliorative actions are required in each case: cultural enrichment or alternative assistance with transition and perhaps "bicultural" education programs.

Examples of writers who either imply an acceptance of the first position themselves, or analyze that acceptance by others, are Gresko, Jenness, Bethune, Moore, and Low. The first two of these write as anthropologists, and the last three as educational administrators.

Jacqueline Gresko examined the history of the industrial school, policy and program from an ethno-historical standpoint. (Gresko, 1975) She repeatedly emphasized throughout her writing that the goal of government and missionary administration was to bring about the assimilation of the Plains Indians on the grounds that the traditional

Indian ways of life were considered inferior to the Caucasian-Christian way of life, and furthermore, even considered to be evil. Such attitudes continued to permeate much of native and Euro-Canadian relations for over one hundred years and provide one explanation for the often dehumanizing experiences imposed upon natives.

In 1928 Diamond Jenness completed two years living with a particular tribe of Inuits around Cornation Gulf Region. Jenness viewed these Inuits as having been one step removed from the Stone-Age. The entire first section of his book, The People of the Twilight (Jenness, 1928) emphasized his view of Inuits as "primitives". Furthermore, Jenness conveyed to the readers his personal conviction that the "white" man and the "white" culture was far superior to that of the Inuits.

> Compared with the Eskimo of Alaska, these natives were astonishingly primitive. Their language contained no word for any number beyond six. I induced a woman to count on her fingers, and she began, in her own tongue, "one, two, one". I corrected her, she started again, "one, two, three". There she stopped, and a man standing beside her said "four". Both had forgotten the words for the next two numbers, considering everything above four as many. (Jenness, 1928: 46) 1

The People of the Twilight was basically an account of Jenness's experiences, but served further to illustrate his very paternalistic attitudes which appeared to alter little over time. In 1964, Jenness published a technical paper more documentary in nature with greater detail and depth. He gave an account of a history of Canada's Inuits and the problems they encountered during the period of development of the Arctic. However, once again the main thrust of the argument was to encourage dominant administrations which sought to promote the assimilation of the natives, and eventually to make them "prosperous workers". Furthermore, Jenness strongly supported the action and the

role taken by the Canadian Federal Government during the early 1960's which led to a massive structural development of schools in the North and considerable modifications and expansion in the educational system. (Supra, p. 18)

Other officials expressed similar views to those held by Jenness. W.C. Bethune expressed in an official report that the ...

> ...educational requirements of the Eskimo in this region (the eastern Arctic) are very simple, and their mental capacity to assimilate academic teaching is limited. (Bethune, 1935)

In 1944 Andrew Moore reported on the development of education in the Northwest Territories. His recommendations reflected many of the views in vogue in the area of education during the forties. At no time was any reference made to the inclusion of natives in the process of policy determination; in fact, little encouragement was given for them to express "their needs". Barriers and divisions between "whites" and natives were actively encouraged in a further reflection of the paternalistic attitude towards natives. Southern values and culture were blatantly cited as superior to that of the natives. The concept of isolation was stressed and a direct reference was made to the "poor whites" who would be forced to live in these bleak northern conditions. (Moore, 1944)

H.R. Low also reported on education in the North. (Low, 1951) After visiting all the northern schools, he concluded that the primary purpose of curriculum was to promote assimilation. Further, he saw "speech" as the chief instrument in the development of intelligence, and such speech was reflected only by the English language. To Low, the teacher should have leadership qualities for his community, and the

school itself was seen as the centre of the community. The dominant priority for the teacher and school would be the maintenance of a high standard in all educational, social and cultural activities, as dictated by the Euro-Canadian perception.

In the past explanations such as those above have justified and legitimatized Euro-Canadian dominance, and have frequently determined even the more subtle nuances of the relationship between the Euro-Canadian and the indigenous societies. Furthermore, these explanations appear to account for much of the sterotyping of natives and from such a perspective the native's "failure" to achieve academically is readily rationalized. Basic to such explanations was the attitude that any shortcoming was a reflection of the internal inferiority of the native.

Recent research, however, has largely abandoned such explanations as largely invalid and extremely simplistic. Considerable evidence has accrued that genetic factors are of great importance in determining a person's intellect, performance and scholastic attainment, (Jansen, 1969; Eysench, 1971; Mittler, 1971; Clarke and Clarke, 1974) but one cannot assume from this evidence that individuals from a different "race" or "ethnic" group are less likely to achieve than their Caucasian counterparts. Walter Bodmer for example, rejected the typological view of races as separate fixed types of genetic differences with I.Q.scores of ability to perform intellectually. (Bodmer and Cavalli-Sforza, 1971)

Contemporary views of individual development stresses the interface of biological and environmental factors: an interlocking system that blends the impact of many variables. Guy Rocher summarizes this

discussion in a fashion that is most interesting to the thesis of this section.

> ...it is clear that I.Q. is not intelligence as such, but rather a measurement of specific tests of a type of mental or intellectual activity. Second, the mental ability measured by I.Q. tests is less familar and less natural to lower class (minority or indigenous) children than it is to upper class or middle class children. Third, it is precisely this very type of intellectual activity that is valued at school and that is assessed in the classroom. (Forcese and Richer, 1975:148)

Bowles and Gintis further criticize the use of I.Q. measures as a causal antecedent variable in statistically explaining economic success in American society. They stress that I.Q. measures may have functioned primarily as one component in the U.S. system of social stratification. They...

> ...argue that the set of beliefs surrounding I.Q. betrays its true function -- that of legitimating the social institutions underpinning the stratification system. (Karabel and Halsey, 1977:226)

In sum, the evidence would suggest that such explanations of student success/failure are erroneous.

The second type of cultural explanation implies that a group of people are attributed a "culture" which in turn determines their behaviour. From this perspective one would assume that indigenous people have developed their particular way of life -- thinking, acting, feeling -- from their unique history, experiences, and ancestory and that this different culture results in lower levels of success in school systems.

As indicated above (<u>Supra</u>, p. 32) this type of cultural explanation falls into two main groupings, deficit models (Lewis, 1966; Reisman, 1960; Wax and Wax, 1971; Valentine, 1968; Wallace, 1960) and the discontinuity of socialization hypothesis (Hobart and Brant, 1966;

Hawthorn, 1968; Sindell, 1974; Toohey, 1976; Hedley, 1971). Three different theoretical statements fall within the grouping of deficit models -- the culture of poverty (Lewis, 1966), cultural deprivation (Reisman, 1960), and the notion of what Wax and Wax call a vacuum ideology. Oscar Lewis who initially developed the explanation which he called the culture of poverty, described culture as a total design for living (ideology, technology, and social organization) which is passed from one generation to the other. However, the poor are distant from the mainstream in any society and they share common traits which are characteristic of the poor wherever they are found in the world, including Africa and the Americas. Lewis sees the poor as fearful, suspicious, orientated to the present, and unable to delay gratification. This behaviour, transmitted from generation to generation, this "culture" explains their levels of success in school.

The culture of poverty explanation applied to native early school leavers takes for granted that indigenous people in Canada fit Lewis's model of poverty. In many northern communities this is not true, but even in those cases where it may be taken to be the case this theory ignores the ongoing relationship between the various groups in Canadian society and does not link the actions of the poor or minorities to their participation in the total society. The "culture of poverty" is simply maintained by parental socialization: the possibility that other aspects of the society contribute to its maintenance is ignored.

Cultural deprivation as a theory carries the logic of Lewis's work one step further and implies that within particular cultures there are definite short-comings. These particular cultures may include the

culture of poverty, ethnic cultures, or any other culture. A child brought up within such a culture will lack specific symbolic experiences and is therefore deprived. From this perspective, native early school leaving would be explained quite simply: a native child from the first year of school through all following years would be expected to experience severe problems because he had been deprived, through exposure to his culture, of experiences that are essential to school success.

Wax and Wax push this logic to its final conclusion with their description of what they call vacuum ideology. The notion here is that the poor or ethnic minorities experience a complete poverty of environment. When a young person from such a group starts school, his mind is considered to be a literal "vacuum". Unfortunately, this ideology implies that the school and the teacher know what is best for the student. The less the involvement of the families, the better, it would suggest. Unlike Lewis, Reisman and others, Wax and Wax wish to argue the absurdity of this position, not its utility, and they present it not as an explanatory theory of their own, but rather as a description of educators' theory or ideology.

All of these models, the culture of poverty, cultural deprivation, and the student viewed as a vacuum, are examples of deficit models. Such models assume the early school leaving of native students is a result of absent or deficient components in the students' backgrounds. Each requires intervention in order to bring the student to par with middle class students. Through special enrichment programs, or changes in the community itself, or in the school's curriculum, attempts are made to change the child.

A study completed in the Yukon illustrated accurately the above perspective. In it, the progress in education between the Yukon population and the non-status Indian population was researched. (Parnell, 1976) The Indian population was found to achieve at lower levels and to drop out at higher rates. The main thrust of the explanations was that the Indians are poor and thus do not achieve as they have all the problems of the "poor". Conflict between two different cultures was seen as only minor.

Valentine is one of many who have critiqued deficit models and supported the general concensus among sociologists and anthropologists that much of the research and other manuscripts completed on the poor are biased by a middle class point of view.

> ..."the culture of poverty" notion and associated ideas distort the reality of life among the poor, prejudice our understanding of that life, and encourage policies which perpetuate the disadvantages associated with poverty. (Valentine, 1968: 17)

The discontinuity of socialization explanation differs at least in principle from deficit theories in that the source for native educational failures stem from the differences between Euro-Canadian communities and native communities -- the differences in the pre-school and out-of-school socialization of Euro-Canadian children and that of native children. The main notion is that the transition from family to school is a transition of culture. Accordingly, the difficulties that any one child experiences in the school is the result of this transition from the culture of the family to the quite different culture of the school. Also involved is a consideration of the problem that the child experiences when he returns to that native culture after

socialization to the "school culture" and is no longer able to cope in the home community.

Peter Sindell contrasted the socialization of Cree children at home to behaviour encouraged and condoned in school life. (Sindell, 1974) He compared and contrasted the traditional milieu to that of the first year in school in general areas of self-reliance and dependence, the character of interpersonal relations, cooperation and competition of expression, aggression and role expectations. He concluded that the children in the sample are exposed to a great deal of cultural discontinuity, a disjunction between what is learned at home and what is learned at school. Rohner and Rohner drew similar conclusions from their studies of the Northwest Pacific Coast Indians. (Elliot, 1971)

The Hawthorne study (1968) presented the same perspective but specified that not one but two main factors account for the lack of success of Indian students in both school and society.

> The first factor is the values and skills that Indian children bring with them to the educational setting and the second is the interaction between Indians and non-Indians that develop within this setting. (Carlton, 1977: 185)

Cultural discontinuity as an explanation explains the first of these factors but ignores the second.

Hedley, critiqued these theories, arguing that people see dualism of communities where none exists. Certain aspects of the dominant society such as values and ideologies are not researched but taken for granted and then incorporated into theories that are developed and applied to the native "problem" and the native "community".

> These studies epitomize a general tendency in anthropology (and sociology) for attention to be directed toward small communities which are then treated as though they could be

> understood as existing in isolation from their wider context. This tendency involves other assumptions among which are homogeneity of interests, value concensus as the basis of integration and an emphasis on stability and continuity over time. Consequently, there is no place for the existence of conflicting interests and there is a lack of concern with problems of power and therefore, an inadequate basis for the analysis of change. (Hedley, 1971)

Deficit models seek solutions in enrichment programs, re-education or rehabilitation. On the other hand, discontinuity of socialization implies a need to ease the transition to be made by the pupil between two conflicting cultures -- that of the indigenous culture on the one hand and that of the Euro-Canadian culture on the other. The solutions in both cases involve changing the student and/or his family and community. Thus, all cultural explanations, albeit varied and often minutely detailed in their recommendations, explain the cause of early school leaving and limited school progress of native students in terms of individual and culturally based shortcomings. The responsibility is then placed on the shoulders of the individual.

These perspective embody an orientation toward adjustments to the existing structure of society without raising a question as to the adequacy or desirability of that structure. Many of these cultural explanations...

> ...distract attention from the crucial structural characteristics of the stratified social system as a whole and focus it instead on alleged motivational peculiarities of the poor that are of doubtful validity or relevance. Several investigations of the problem of class cultures suggest that the cultural values of the poor may be much the same as middle class values, merely modified in practice because of situational stresses. (Valentine, 1968: 17)

Clive Linklater (n.d.), in criticizing the above perspectives implicitly calls for a structural perspective or theory when he makes

the following statement:

> In the attempts at education of the Indian people, the educators have, in fact, started where the Indian student isn't or wasn't, and proceeded from the unknown to the unknown.
> Then, in attempting to discover what was wrong, instead of asking:
> "What is wrong with our system?" or
> "What is wrong with our methods?"
> the educators proceed to ask,
> "What is wrong with those damn dumb Indians?"

Other native spokesmen such as Harold Cardinal, Steve Kakfwi, and Ethelou Yazzie clearly indicate their opinion that the native problem is societal and not individual or "cultural". (Cardinal, 1977)

A structural explanation necessitates, not an examination of the native but an examination of Canadian society as a whole. From a structural perspective, the life of Canada's indigenous people is a product of, or response to economic, political, and social circumstances in which the indigenous people live. Culture, rather than being separate from, is an integral part, of the total social organization of a society. (Coulson and Riddell, 1970) Furthermore, if a change is to occur that is to affect the conditions of the indigenous people, a structural change or changes of an economic, political, and social nature must occur throughout the whole of Canadian society, for the indigenous people are one part of the societal whole. Thus, the explanation for the phenomenon of early school leaving is not necessarily based at the individual level, but might better be perceived as a combination of individual and societal.

> ...to concentrate services on changing the deprived will be of limited value if the causes of deprivation rest mainly in the social structures of society, rather than in the personalities of the poor, or in their <u>immediate</u> environment.

> The emphasis on better socializing experiences for children will avail little if schools are required to maintain present hierarchies by ensuring that some students fail. The counselling or training of parents into different forms of behaviour will have little outcome if the public and private housing market is such that some people must be "selected" for, or "rationed" into private slums or local authority sub-standard property. Increased job training will mean little in the situation where institutionalised occupational prejudice operates against the handicapped. (Carver and Rodda, 1978: 65)

Research in the Mackenzie Delta on native student's job aspirations indicates the native students in the Northwest Territories do not experience the same continuity and reinforcement in the development of occupational preferences as do non-native students, or that the educational and occupational attainment of native students is limited by structural, educational, and occupational opportunities. (Smith, 1975)

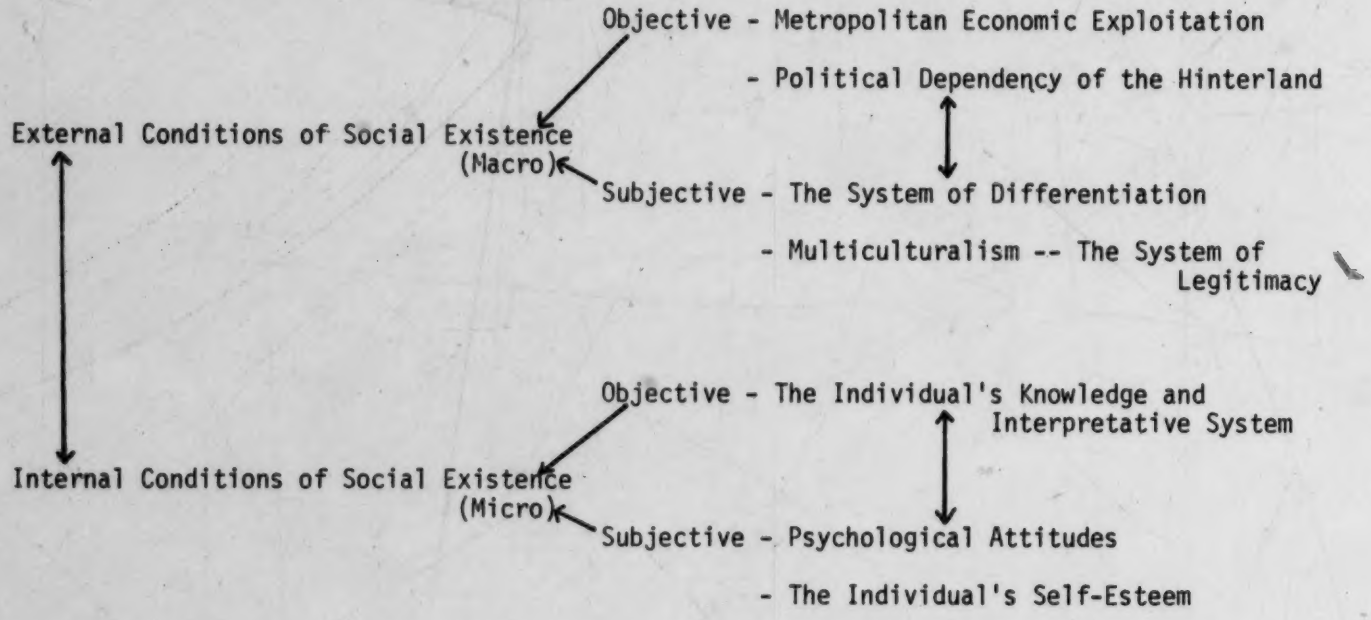
Such an occupational reality has been called a "job ceiling" by John Ogbu -- a ceiling in attainable occupational levels which applies to some groups in the population but not to others. In the northern case, the implication would be that the occupations perceived as "available" to northern native students are at a much lower level than those available to non-native students and they quite realistically see further schooling as not being of use to them, although it may be useful to others. However, in the northern case it should also be noted that the concept of "job ceiling" is not fully applicable to susbistance living, or living off the land, for from the perspective of the native people it is not status-ranked as part of the southern-based northern economic structure.

As has been discussed above, much of the research that has examined school retention rates and academic achievements of indigenous

students focus on the individual student and explain the cause of early school leaving and limited progress in terms of individual and culturally based shortcomings. However, the phenomena of early school leaving and low academic achievements are not adequately explained by these perspectives as their major focus is individual and cultural. Just as it is simplistic to rationalize a native student's limited progress, or "dropping out" as soley the result of his own actions without considering the conditions and pressures of living in Canadian society, likewise it is simplistic to argue culture as an alternative explanation as culture is an integral part of the total organization of a society. Therefore, the phenomena of early school leaving and low achievement levels of Inuit and Indian students need to be examined from a much broader structural perspective. Although no author has previously studied the problem of early school leaving in the Northwest Territories using such a theoretical perspective, a structural explanation needs to be sought if one accepts the argument developed throughout the review of literature that "the problem" is not personal or cultural, but rather societal.

A structural explanation of native school progress and early school leaving in the Northwest Territories will now be developed and part of it will be used as the framework for further analysis. This model presents the conditions that will affect how an individual exists in Canadian society (see Figure 1). The major assumption of the model is that an individual exists within a society at several levels simultaneously, and that adjustments, or modifications at one level will affect his total existence. The main division is that of

Figure 1 - Conditions of Social Existence -- A Model for Analysis


Objective - Metropolitan Economic Exploitation
- Political Dependency of the Hinterland
External Conditions of Social Existence
(Macro)
Subjective - The System of Differentiation
- Multiculturalism -- The System of Legitimacy
Objective - The Individual's Knowledge and Interpretative System
Internal Conditions of Social Existence
(Micro)
Subjective - Psychological Attitudes
- The Individual's Self-Esteem

the External Conditions of Social Existence, commonly called the "macro" perspective, and the Internal Conditions of Social Existence, commonly called the "micro" perspective. Each of these categories is then further divided into an objective and subjective dimension. The two levels, although separate, influence each other and form a dialectic relationship.

The External Conditions of Social Existence which are herein objective are those circumstances established within a society that determines an individual's place in that society, and the subjective circumstances consists of the ideology that legitimizes the inequalities determined by the objective conditions.

The Internal Conditions of Social Existence are the individual responses to the external conditions, plus potentially some creative elements within the individual that may enable him to reinterpret those conditions and perhaps act back upon them, creating a dialectic relationship between internal and external conditions. At the objective level, the internal conditions correlate with the macro "subjective" level as the individual incorporates an idea system and "culture" which determines his world-view as well as influences his knowledge and interpretive systems. At the subjective level, the internal conditions may be considered to be individual psychological characteristics such as attitudes, self-esteem, self-concept, and so on.

In Canada, the External Conditions of Social Existence consist of a stratified social structure based on capitalism. The objective conditions are such that access to power and material goods is limited to a few. The possibility of acquiring such material goods provides

the basic motivational structure for individuals, and higher levels of education assures the graduate a greater opportunity of access to the limited material goods. Although this situation applies throughout Canada, there are some specific historical factors that have developed differently in the Northwest Territories, and in this context one must think not only of stratified political and economic systems, but of regional inequalities in which the North functions to meet specific needs of the South. The hinter-land-metropolis perspective is the perspective on capitalist development which best accounts, then, for the development of the Objective External Conditions of Social Existence in northern Canada.[2]

The subjective external conditions of existence are those ideologies which legitimize and justify the inequality which exists. To some degree the description of schooling as an aspect of mobility falls into this category, but Canada's description of itself as a multicultural society may also be understood in this manner. Multiculturalism is the Canadian version of cultural pluralism which requires controls and limitations to be placed on the acculturation and assimilation processes of Canada's cultural minorities. Some amount of participation on the part of the minority groups is required in order for them to participate effectively in society, but at the same time, the model requires some degree of social segregation so that the minority groups will be maintained and continue to develop their own culture and identity. The concept of cultural pluralism is complementary to the liberal ideology that is supposedly the dominant ideology of Western societies.

The maintenance of such an ideology requires three elements which Pierre van den Berghe has identified as "components" of pluralism. There is normative pluralism, in which cultural differences are valued and accepted both by minority and majority groups in the society; cultural pluralism in which ethnic groups are set off from dominant groups by language, religion, kinship forms, nationality, traditional norms and values or other factors; and structural pluralism in which there is ...

> ...segmentation and compartmentalization of different groups in analagous, parallel, non-complementary, but distinguishable sets of institutions. (van den Berghe, 1967: 14)

Thus, these factors which are associated with the maintenance of the ideology of multiculturalism obviously come to place limits on the actions and decisions of individuals, just as the objective conditions of external existence do.

In the case of the Indian people in Canada, the most complete form of pluralism may be said to exist, especially in regards to cultural and structural pluralism. This is the case because of the existence of a federal Department of Indian Affairs, the legal category of status Indian associated with that department's activities, and the extensions of "parallel" services to the Indian population by that federal department. To a lesser degree this applies also to the Inuit as they are, by judicial decree, included in the British North America reference to Indians. (They are specifically excluded from the terms of the Indian Act, however.)

The objective internal conditions of social existence for northern native peoples is the individual side of the above ideological

coin, but includes a specifically indigenous cultural component. These thought systems provide for the individual native person's signs to interpret reality and perceive objects, and provides a focus and shape to his particular views. Thus, the individual interprets his world in Canada, in the context of a multicultural ideology, and a cultural reality which is associated with the multicultural "reality" of Canada, not in the context of his objective ("class") position associated with the objective external conditions of social existence.

The subjective internal conditions of social existence have been previously referred to as "psychological" factors, such as self-esteem and self-concept. Self-esteem is an integral component of performance. If an individual aspires to achieve through involvement in an activity, he is facilitated in that achievement by self-confidence. Academic self-confidence grows through positive achievement experiences and ideally a cyclical relationship occurs: achievement promotes further self-confidence which in turn inspires learning. Competence and confidence are expected to have a catalytic effect upon each other.

> ...the individual acts to protect his sense of worth when it is threatened. In fact, these protective efforts seem so universal that many psychologists have assumed the need for self-aggrandizement to be a primary motive animating much of human behaviour. Basically, these experts agree that the individual attempts to maximize success, which enhances a sense of worth, and to avoid failure, which threaten to devalue it. (Covington and Beery, 1976: 6)

In our society there exists a tendency to equate "human worth" with achievement. In other words, people often acquire a general sense of worth which is closely correlated to the level of their socially-valued achievements. This external press on the individual is toward the external demonstration of ability which in turn directly effects

one's status. One's self-esteem is thus frequently directly related to "how well" one performs, and conversely, an individual's failure to perform can drastically lower his self-worth. Some samples of research that examine how significant a role is played by the variable self-esteem in affecting educational aspiration when considered simultaneously with parental aspiration, social classs, and verbal ability indicate that self-esteem is significant regardless of ethnic background. However, the self-concept dimension needs further research before any assumptions as to predictability can be made. (Kegan and Coles, 1972)

The basic premise offered here, then is that the success an individual achieves from his performance in our society is directly related to his self-esteem. The opposite also exists -- if he has a low self-esteem, he often will not perform "successfully" to the social standards.

This then represents a theoretical model for analyzing the experiences of native young people in northern schools, especially with respect to school "progress" and "early school leaving". It is not intended in this thesis to examine every element of the model, but rather to focus on certain aspects of the External Conditions of Social Existence, in particular the "class distinction" of early school leavers. It is herein argued that there are possibly significant differences in the orientations of such students with regards to their economic destination, and unless this is understood, the defintion of failure which surrounds early school leaving will be maintained, and will inappropriately be maintained as a means of understanding northern schools and native peoples.

Descriptively, the northern economic base consists of four identifiable levels and each level provides different alternatives for northern indigenous people. A vast and prolific government bureaucracy has been established -- initially, by the federal government, and today, only partially independent -- to administer health, education, and welfare services throughout regions of the North, and to guarantee metropolis control. The metropolis continually exploits and dominates hinterland resources, and thus, the second level of the economic base is that of the primary resources, mining and fur trapping, which are removed from the hinterland and exported to the metropolis. The third is the tertiary sector of northern society, which provides services and duplicates many institutions found in southern Canadian society. Finally, the fourth level, which is radically different from the others, is the subsistence level. The subsistence level is the traditional economic base of the northern indigenous people; therefore, the subsistence level can be an alternative to functioning in either other level, and can exist independent of the other three.

The economic base provides a range of differentiated positions, an occupational hierarchy into which the population merges. Motivation, or desire to fulfill certain occupational aspirations is acquired through socialization. The institution of the school socializes students into the ideological value patterns of Canadian society. Furthermore, the school program in a stratified society relates the student's aspirations to his ascribed social status, and modifies the aspirations accordingly.

The educational system of the Northwest Territories, as discussed

above, is an imported system, which reflects the ideologies and value patterns of Canadian-metropolis society, and the occupations into which "graduates" can merge are those alternatives offered by the economic base. Positions within the economic structure require different levels of academic achievement. Thus, natives with a minimal level of formal education can readily function at the subsistence level and the resource level as most of the skills, other than the highly technical or managerial, can be learned on the job. This also holds true, to some extent, at the tertiary level. However, participation in the government bureaucracy is almost completely limited to those individuals who have "certified" levels of academic achievement. Consequently, native participation in the government bureaucracy in the Northwest Territories is usually limited to participating as clients of the government services.

In a stratified society early school leaving is frequently considered an indication of present or future "failure" or even lack of ability. The school "dropout", through his actions, relegates himself to lower levels of employment in the stratified system and therefore to a lower position in society. Unless the individual upgrades himself at some time in the future, the early school leaver has limited many of his life chances.

Unlike his counterpart in southern Canada, the native early school leaver in the Northwest Territories can choose between two viable alternatives. His first alternative is to adjust himself to a lower status position in northern society and seek unskilled, or semi-skilled employment in the mines and settlements, and/or become dependent on the

social services provided by the government. His second alternative is to live off the land at the subsistence level as his ancestors did before him. Life at the subsistence level, albeit severe and ladden with hardships, is neither relegated low status nor accompanied with stigma. In fact, the native who lives on the land is relatively independent of the other levels of the economic base, and the status given him, especially by other natives, is both positive and supportive.

Very few statistics are available that clearly itemize the occupations that are filled by native peoples in Canada. What information is available tends to group the natives as either predominantly unemployed or unskilled labourers. However, as was discussed in Chapter 1, a great deal of the problem with this type of data is that during the data collection, the frame of reference used is that of Euro-Canadian society; thus the concept of subsistence living would not be considered and/or noted. From the data available we can assume that very few indigenous peoples achieve the "higher status" occupations.[3]

However, the Inuit and Indians in the Northwest Territories still have the opportunity to exist outside the three main levels of the economic base. Thus, native early school leaving in the Northwest Territories needs to be seen as possibly being motivated from two different sources. In the first, the individual withdraws from school to seek semi-skilled, or unskilled employment, or to be unemployed in the settlement. In the second, the individual is choosing to live on the land and in the level of the economic base that duplicates the traditional indigenous economy. In either case, the act of leaving school would have a different meaning to the individual actor. As

well, the act would affect the society differently.

It would follow from the above that there exists two different types of early school leavers: those who opt for life in the settlement in accordance to values and ideologies of the dominant metropolis, and those who return to the traditional way of life. The differentiation is crucial.

As has been previously discussed "early school leaving" and "dropping out" in southern Canada is synonymous with failure, and indicate that the individual is not able to meet some of the accepted basic standards of society. Furthermore, by leaving school before achieving a trade or particular grade level, the individual is cutting himself off from access to many positions in the occupational hierarchy that provides both high monetary rewards and high status. But this is not necessarily the case for those individuals in the Northwest Territories that opt for "living on the land". They are able to survive, have a livelihood as well as status and recognition from their peers, and for years have a high income. In Chapter 4 evidence is given that subsistence living is still an alternative life style chosen by some young people leaving school. Although many of the Objective External Conditions of Social Existence discussed above apply to these individuals, these natives do not suffer the stigma as do their counterparts that opt for life in the settlements.

The following chapters will present data on early school leaving and school progress of native students in the Northwest Territories. These data will be analyzed in the context of the External Conditions of Social Existence, conditions understood as those of a stratified

economic and political structure, as is implied by the analysis of John Ogbu and the general writings of individuals in the metropolis-hinterland school of thought, but also conditions understood as those of a subsistence economic base which partially enables the individual to avoid or ignore the constraints of the Canadian class and regional structure. The final chapter which follows the data presentation and analysis will consider the implications of the overall analysis.

FOOTNOTES

1. The quotation from Jenness included in the text refers to his earlier work. Later during the 1960's Jenness's perspective tended to be more "cultural" than judgmental and evaluative.

2. The "metropolis-hinterland thesis" is developed by Arthur K. Davis in the essay "Canadian Society and History as Hinterland Versus Metropolis" found in Richard J. Ossenberg, ed., Canadian Society: Pluralism, Change, and Conflict, (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1971).

3. Dennis Forcese, The Canadian Class Structure, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd.), p. 43. The tables give a range of occupations as well as the ethnicity of the participants. Of interest is that Native Indians have the highest percentage of individuals in the "not stated and not elsewhere classified" category -- in each case at least twice the number of the other ethnic groups.

CHAPTER THREE

Early School Leaving in the Northwest Territories: Examination of the Data

No data presently exists that provides information on school progress of native students in the Northwest Territories, or the numbers that are early school leavers. There appears to be a consensus among educators that a large number of native students are spending increasingly shorter periods of time in school; however, no empirical evidence is presently available to support or challenge this assumption. In this chapter and the subsequent one, secondary data will be examined that will hopefully provide some concrete evidence regarding the early school leaving phenomenon. This research attempts to provide evidence that will answer the question whether Indian and Inuit students in the Northwest Territories do leave school at earlier ages, and in larger numbers than do students in southern Canada. In order to connect the phenomenon of early school leaving to the whole of northern society, Chapter 4 will represent an attempt to identify two types of native early school leavers -- those who opt for life in the settlement in accordance to the values and ideologies of the dominant metropolis, and those who return to the traditional way of life.

In order to establish rates of early school leaving for Inuit and Indian students, data collected from students' files in the Department of Education, Yellowknife, Northwest Territories will be examined. Should a pattern of early school leavers be established, other available factors that might have affected a

student's decision to leave school or remain will then be examined. Two statistical methods of analysis will be employed: initially to determine if these factors are statistically significant, and secondly, to determine the level of significance. Age at the time students started school, the relative size of their present community of residence, ethnic status, gender, times they changed schools, residence while attending school, and kindergarten attendance will all be considered in order to determine the relative influence of each on the length of time an Inuit or Indian student remains in school.

The Sample and the Data Collection

Prior to this data collection, the Department of Education in the Northwest Territories appeared to place a low priority on education record keeping. All records were maintained manually by clerks and the author observed that the filing systems had not been consistently maintained. Data retrieval was a slow, and at times, tedious process as a result.

Two major sources of data on early school leaving exist -- the student information cards in the Department of Education, Yellowknife (from which are drawn the data examined in this chapter) and the school withdrawal forms from Statistics Canada (which are utilized in Chapter 4). The combination of information from these two sources do appear to provide sufficiently accurate information for an exploratory study of early school leaving in the Northwest Territories; under any conditions, they are the only sources available.

For each student that has ever been in school in the

Northwest Territories a card is maintained on which is recorded; the student's full name, present location, ethnic status, religion, birthdate, community of parents, parents' names, school attended, year of attendance, and grade level or total years spent in school. These files are kept alphabetically by student's name, and maintained by school enrolment forms sent every fall from the schools. These files do not consistently record ethnicity or grade levels. Commencing in 1974 no record was kept of a school-child's ethnicity since such was felt to be a violation of basic human rights. Administrative difficulties that have since ensued have resulted in a reversal of this decision and apparently ethnicity was recorded recommencing in the fall of 1976. Also, as a result of the educational reforms instituted in the Northwest Territories in 1971, the school system was no longer structured around traditional grades. Rather school records thereafter record only years in school with no related measurement of achievement. Each of these facts introduce problems into the data analysis.

The Northwest Territories school records can only provide a reasonably complete picture of the progress through school of students whose ethnic status has been identified as either Inuit or Indian. By tracing the progress through school of two cohorts of native students over a ten year and five year period, an adequate indication of school leaving rates can be obtained. As suggested in previous chapters, the majority of native students do not stay in school past the age of sixteen. In order to provide a ten-year observational span for the data, the first cohort is composed of all native students who started school in 1966.[1]

The Northwest Territories Annual Report show that for the academic year 1966-67 that 4,690 Inuit and Indian students were enrolled in school Grades K - 12. Therefore, one might assume that approximately 10 percent or 469 students were in Grade 1 and Beginning English. It is not possible to know how ethnic origin was determined in this report or also why the figures in this sample are smaller (281). Similarly, the author was unable to determine whether the sample selected by the outlined procedure is in anyway biased. Also, the figures in the Report show that for 1971-72, 6,161 Inuit and Indian students were enrolled in Grades K - 12. Once again using 10 percent, 616 of these students would be in their first year of formal schooling, which compares closely to the figure of 655 for Cohort B in our sample.

It was considered important to determine the representativeness of the sample. The actual sample was obtained by searching the information files and selecting all Inuit or Indian students who started school in 1966 (Cohort A) and 1971 (Cohort B). In order to derive a ratio indicating whether this sample was truly representative of the northern population, calculations based on the percentage of indigenous people in a particular community were multiplied by school enrolment figures and then compared to school enrolment by communities. These calculations result in a ratio of 0.86 (See Appendix A).

When data collection began, the first year of school was taken to be the first year of formal schooling; thus if a student went to kindergarten, the fact that he went was noted, but the year spent in kindergarten was not considered to be "the first year of

school". This decision was based on the fact that in 1965-66 few kindergartens were operating in the Northwest Territories. By 1970-71 most children had the opportunity to attend a kindergarten. Thus in order to allow for a valid comparison between the two cohorts examined in this analysis, the first year of school was taken to be either Grade 1 or Beginning English.

It will be recalled from the discussion in Chapter 1 that the school system in the Northwest Territories underwent extensive structural changes with the move away from federal government control of the schools. Thus it is considered important to examine the effects of these changes on the progress through school of native students, tracing the progress of a second cohort of students who started school in 1971. Comparative cohort progress over a five year period under two systems is then available.

The progress through school of two cohorts of native students will provide information on the extent of school leaving at different points in the schooling process in the Northwest Territories, and a further examination of the variance due to the different influencing factors. An examination of this data should assist an attempt to empirically understand this phenomenon.

General Trends in Both Cohorts

As has been previously discussed, the basic criteria for sample selection was that the student was either Inuit or Indian and started his first year of school in either 1966 or 1971.[2] In this sample 281 Inuit and Indian students started their first year of formal schooling in 1966 (see Table 1). As the information for

Table 1 - Percentage Distribution of Students' Progress - Cohort A

Identified Grade Levels	Academic Years Year 1 1966	Year 2 1967	Year 3 1968	Year 4 1969	Year 5 1970	Year 6 1971	Year 7 1972	Year 8 1973	Year 9 1974	Year 10 1975
Beginners	64.4% (181)	18.8% (53)	2.9% (8)	0.4% (1)						
Grade 1	35.6 (100)	62.3 (175)	30.2 (21)	7.5 (21)	1.8 (5)	1.4 (4)				
Grade 2		15.7 (44)	47.7 (134)	26.0 (73)	8.9 (25)	3.2 (9)	1.1 (3)			
Grade 3			14.2 (40)	44.0 (124)	27.0 (76)	12.1 (34)	3.9 (11)	1.8 (5)		
Grade 4				12.5 (35)	38.4 (108)	20.6 (58)	12.1 (34)	5.3 (15)		
Grade 5				0.4 (1)	10.7 (30)	35.2 (99)	22.1 (62)	9.6 (27)	1.1 (3)	
Grade 6					0.4 (1)	6.8 (19)	23.8 (67)	21.0 (59)	6.0 (17)	0.3 (1)
Grade 7						0.4 (1)	7.1 (20)	23.1 (65)	12.1 (34)	4.3 (12)
Grade 8							0.7 (2)	6.4 (18)	27.4 (77)	10.7 (30)
Grade 9								1.1 (3)	12.8 (36)	24.2 (68)
Grade 10									1.1 (3)	9.6 (10)
Grade 11										0.7 (2)
Stopouts		1.1 (3)	1.4 (4)	2.8 (8)	3.9 (11)	3.2 (9)	2.1 (3)	1.1 (3)	1.1 (3)	
No longer in School		2.1 (6)	3.6 (10)	6.4 (18)	8.9 (25)	17.1 (48)	27.1 (76)	30.6 (86)	38.4 (108)	50.2 (141)
	100.0 (281)	100.0 (281)	100.0 (281)	100.0 (281)	100.0 (281)	100.0 (281)	100.0 (281)	100.0 (281)	100.0 (281)	100.0 (281)
% Still in School	100.0 (281)	96.8 (272)	95.0 (267)	90.8 (255)	87.2 (245)	79.7 (224)	70.8 (199)	68.3 (192)	60.5 (170)	49.8 (140)

for the students' files is gathered from the school enrolment forms that are sent into the main office every fall, Year 1 - 1966 represents the first year of school in the fall of 1966; Year 2 - 1967, the second year of the school in the fall of 1967; Year 3 - 1968, the third year of school in the fall of 1968, and so forth. Furthermore, as has been already mentioned "identified grade levels" need to be examined with some skepticism. One could be comfortable in assuming that the grades as recorded are not accurate: in 1971 the Department of Education discontinued the recording of "grades", replacing it with the recording of "years" in school. As one examines the records, one concludes that throughout, "years" in school and "grades" are often recorded indiscriminately. Thus the grades in the tables, unless otherwise indicated, are not reliable. The researcher was not always able to determine if the number on the card was a grade in school, or years in school, or if in fact, grades are recorded up till 1971, and then years in school were recorded.

From the Percentage Distribution of Students' Progress -- Cohort A (see Table 1) three main categories of information can be drawn: firstly, a general pattern of students' progress, secondly, the percentage of students who "stop-out" for a year or more only to reappear again on the enrolment lists, and thirdly, the percentage of students who actually "drop-out" or by earlier definitions are "early school leavers".

In Cohort A 64.4 percent of the students began in Beginning English while 35.6 percent were put directly in Grade 1. Of this group one student is still in Beginning English at the beginning

of his fourth year in school. The remainder of the students progress through the levels at different rates. The rate of stop-outs per year varies from 1.1 percent to 3.9 percent. As there was no data collected for Year 11 - 1965, whether a student stopped-out or dropped-out could not be determined for Year 10 - 1975. Generally, the rate of stop-outs increases annually until Year 7, at which point the percentages appear to decline.

The percentage distribution of students who are no longer in school represents a difference observation. Generally, Table 1 demonstrates a pattern that in each consecutive year more students have dropped out of school. However, if one examines the percentage difference between the percent of students no longer in school in 1967 and those no longer in 1968, then 1968 and 1969 and so on, an interesting pattern develops. At the beginning of Year 2, 2.1 percent have dropped out of school; by Year 3 this percentage has increased by 1.5 percent, Year 4 by 2.8 percent, Year 5 by 2.5 percent, Year 6 by 8.2 percent, Year 7 by 10.0 percent, Year 8 by 3.5 percent, Year 9 by 7.8 percent and Year 10 by 11.8 percent. During the first four years the increase of the percentage of students leaving school each year varies by just over 1 percent. The dramatic change is in the fall of Year 6 when the rate jumps by 8.2 percent. The rate increases again in Year 7, drops Year 8, and then continues to increase. From the sample in Cohort A, one can conclude that a dramatic increase in the rate of early school leaving occurs at the end of Year 5 and the beginning of Year 6. By the beginning of Year 10, 49.8 percent of the students in Cohort A are still in school.

Cohort B, or all Inuit and Indian students who started the

first year of school in 1971 consists of 655 students (see Table 2). This table is similar to Table 1, thus, as will be done throughout this analysis, the first five years of Cohort A will be compared to the first five years of Cohort B.

Initially, one can see that of the students starting school in 1971, 51.3 percent were placed in Beginning English which compares to 64.4 percent in Cohort A while 48.7 percent of Cohort B were put directly in Grade 1 as were only 35.6 percent of Cohort A. One might conclude that by 1971 the children appeared either to be more "prepared" for school, or their ability to speak the first language of the school (for the majority English) was more developed than for those students who started in 1966.

Because of the problems inherent in the identified grade levels, it would be presumptuous to make any statement regarding progress other than the students progressed at varying rates.

For Cohort B there are only three figures for percentages of stop-outs. No figure is given for Year 5 for the same reasons no figure was given for Year 10. What is of interest is that the three figures for Cohort B do not increase in a linear fashion as they did for Cohort A, but in two out of the three figures they are 0.3 percent and 0.9 percent higher while the remainder is 0.6 percent less. Without more data it is impossible to speculate as to whether, in fact, over the years, the pattern of stop-outs for Cohort A and Cohort B would show any or no appreciable difference.

Finally, a quick comparison of percentage of students no longer in school for Year 2 to Year 5 gives the impression that

students in the second cohort appear to drop-out of school at an accelerated rate compared to those in the first cohort. Overall, by the end of Year 5, 77.9 percent of the students in Cohort B are still in school as compared to 87.2 percent in Cohort A. Thus it appears that by the beginning of the 5th year in school 9.3 percent more students in Cohort B have quit school.

In the discussion of Table 1 no discernible pattern could be found for the rate of early school leaving for Years 2 to 5 whereas after that point the rate appears to increase annually. Similarly for Cohort B it is impossible to interpret the figures as being anything other than random. At the beginning of Year 2, 7.6 percent have dropped out of school; Year 3 this percentage has increased by 6.5 percent, Year 4 by 4.5 percent and Year 5 by 3.5 percent. However, if one compares the percentage differences of students no longer in school for each year over the first five year period, Cohort B is consistently higher by 5.5 percent at the beginning of Year 2, 10.5 percent Year 3, 12.2 percent Year 4, and 9.9 percent Year 5.

Thus one can draw at least two conclusions. Firstly, a significantly greater number of students in Cohort B are early school leavers than in Cohort A. Secondly, if the general patterns of school progress and early school leaving are similar for both cohorts, one could conclude that students in Cohort B would continue their accelerated rate of early school leaving at the beginning of Year 6 and the percentage of students no longer in school would increase annually in significant proportions.[3]

Table 2 - Percentage Distribution of Students' Progress - Cohort B

Identified Grade Levels	Academic Years Year 1 1971	Year 2 1972	Year 3 1973	Year 4 1974	Year 5 1975
Beginners	51.3% (336)	4.3% (28)			
Grade 1	48.7 (319)	53.1 (348)	6.4 (42)	0.2 (1)	
Grade 2		33.1 (217)	49.9 (327)	2.0 (13)	0.2 (1)
Grade 3		0.5 (13)	28.5 (187)	20.9 (137)	0.2 (1)
Grade 4			0.3 (2)	34.0 (223)	16.1 (106)
Grade 5				18.6 (122)	38.0 (249)
Grade 6				1.8 (12)	20.7 (136)
Grade 7				0.2 (11)	2.0 (13)
Grade 8					0.5 (3)
Grade 9					0.2 (1)
Stopouts		1.4 (9)	0.8 (5)	3.7 (24)	
No longer in School		7.6 (50)	14.1 (92)	18.6 (122)	22.1 (145)
	100.0 (655)	100.0 (655)	100.0 (655)	100.0 (655)	100.0 (655)
% Still in School	100.0 (655)	91.0 (596)	85.1 (558)	77.7 (509)	77.9 (510)

Discussion of Variables

Previously the information for each student found on each card has been itemized. However, not all information was available for all the students in the sample. For example, the student's religion was noted. In Cohort A religion was recorded for 278 out or the possible 281 students of 98.9 percent. While in Cohort B religion was recorded for 93 out of a possible 655 or 14.2 percent.

A similar problem exists with parents' community. In the data analysis, therefore, some variables are examined for both cohorts while others are examined only for either Cohort A or Cohort B. Whenever the missing observation accounted for the majority of the data, analysis was assumed to be meaningless.

A total of nine variables were obtained from the data collection, some could be used "as is" while others were calculated.[4] The variables that required only slight modification, such as recoding to make them more manageable, were the following: the student's present location (the community that he lives in); the student's ethnic status; the student's religion; whether the student attended kindergarten; and the student's gender. The remaining variables were calculated from the raw data collected on the information cards -- the number of years students spent in school; the age of each student when he entered the first year of school; and the number of times students changed school during the periods being examined.

The Dependent Variable

In this research the phenomemon of early school leaving is of interest; therefore, the dependent variable is "the years students had spent in school at the time they withdrew from school". Prior to this discussion the format to be followed for tables was stated. (The first five years for both cohorts would be presented and then either Years 1-10+ or 6-10+ for Cohort A whichever would be appropriate.) But the tables are also separating Years 1-4 for Cohort B and Years 1-9 for Cohort A as these are the years during which students could be

early school leavers. To include the fifth year or the tenth year (which in fact are residual groups) in either case would be an error similar to "the ceiling effect" pertinent in research design.[5] To include these years would be misleading on two levels: firstly, as no data was collected beyond Year 5 for Cohort B and Year 10 for Cohort A, the number of students in those years included some who might not go on to the sixth or eleventh years but also those that did. Therefore, these years are designated as Year 5+ and Year 10+ and are separated from the other years. Secondly, statistics if they are to represent those students who are early school leavers have to be calculated for only that proportion of the cases. For all tables where the difference appeared significant the statistics for Years 1-4, Years 1-5+, Years 6-9 and Years 6-10+ are given.

So far the observation that the students in Cohort B appear to be early school leavers at a more accelerated rate than those in Cohort A has been established. A cumulative frequency distribution for the first five years of school for both cohorts reinforces this finding (see Table 3). After one year in school 2.1 percent of the students in Cohort A have left school, not to return again; after two years this figure has increased to 3.6 percent, after three years to 6.4 percent and after 4 years, 12.2 percent. For Cohort B 7.6 percent leave school after one year of formal schooling. After two years this figure increases to 14.4 percent, after three years 18.6 percent and after four years, 22.1 percent. The percentage differences, or the percentage more students in Cohort B that are early school leavers than in Cohort A are 5.5 percent,

Table 3 - Cumulative Frequency Distribution of Rate of Early School Leaving for the First Five Years in School, both Cohorts

Years in School at Time of Leaving	A Cohort		B Cohort	
	Cumulative Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Frequency	Percent
1 year	6	2.1	50	7.6
2 years	10	3.6	92	14.1
3 years	18	6.4	122	18.6
4 years	36	12.2	145	22.1
Still in School 5+ Years	281	100.0	655	100.0

Cohort A: Mean = 4.737, Std. Dev. = 0.803

Cohort B: Mean - 4.376, Std. Dev. = 1.276

10.5 percent, 12.2 percent, and 9.9 percent respectively. (Note that figures for 4 years are somewhat inflated as they include drop-outs and stop-outs.) As these figures are cumulative, they represent the additive effect of percentage of students who are early school leavers. What is of interest is that the greatest difference between the cohorts is for those students who leave after one and two years formal schooling (5.5 percent and 5.0 percent). For three and four years, the difference is only 1.7 percent and 2.3 percent. One might speculate that some intervening variables may have more influence during those first two years than in the latter years.

The cumulative frequency distribution for Cohort A Years 1-10+ illustrates the same findings that have been previously noted

(see p66). The mertis of this particular format is that the reader can readily see the annual increase as well as the dramatic increase of the rate of early school leaving by the end of the five years in school or the fall of Year 6 (see Table 4).

Rates of early school leaving have been established for both cohorts. What remains is to examine the independent variables to determine which variables do in fact affect the dependent variable. In other words, what factors from the available data can be cited as having a direct effect on whether a student remains in school or is an early school leaver?

Table 4 - Cumulative Frequency Distribution of Rate of Early School Leaving for Cohort A

Years in School at Time of Leaving	Cumulative Frequency	Percent
1 year	6	2.1
2 years	10	3.6
3 years	18	6.4
4 years	25	8.9
5 years	48	17.1
6 years	76	27.1
7 years	86	30.6
8 years	108	38.4
9 years	141	50.2
Still in School 10+ Years	281	100.0

Mean = 8.157, Std. Dev. = 2.439

Analysis of Variance - Two-way

Analysis of Variance procedures examine the effect "non-metric" independent variables have on the dependent variable measured on an interval scale. In this data analysis the non-metric independent variables result in subclasses that are unequal and in some cases disproportionately large. Blalock warns that with sociological data, or non-experimental data, this is often the case and frequently results in some ambiguities as to which variable should be assigned credit for the main effect variance.[6] SPSS takes this into account and by running the "Classical Experimental Approach" most ambiguities are eliminated.[7]

As the data is non-experimental, to create a valid research design which is characteristic of ANOVA is unrealistic. ANOVA with the present data could possibly be a valid procedure if used as a test which aides the researcher to determine which factors affect the dependent variable. However, as the cell sizes and subclasses are unequal and range in sizes up to ten, the quantities found in the "explained" category tend to be rather small while the "residual" category is quite large. However, the analysis does indicate if the main effect was significant (the main effect being the effect the two factors have on the dependent variables); whether the effect of either of the two factors, individually, on the dependent variable was significant; and finally, whether there was an interaction effect between the two factors, independent of the effect that either one might have on the dependent variable. These three groups of information will

now be examined for varying combinations of factors affecting the dependent variable.

Results of the 2-way ANOVAs -- Both Cohorts

The author generated all possible combinations of the independent variables in pairs to determine both how they combined and individually affected the dependent variable. Rather than include all the tables in this text that resulted from the numerous Analyses of Variance, the results were condensed into three summative tables (specifically, Tables 5, 6, 7) which give the results that were significant at the 0.05 level.

Initially, the Analysis of Variance was employed to determine which independent variables in both cohorts, Years 1-5+ affect the dependent variable the "years spent in school at the time of leaving" (see Table 5). For Cohort A the main effect was statistically significant in each combination cited, and in four out of five computer runs the student's "present location" accounted for a significant effect. Students' present locations were then recoded according to the communities' status. Thus whether a student lived in a settlement, village or hamlet, or town and city does appear to be relevant as to whether he is an early school leaver or not. The same variable does not appear statistically significant for Cohort B. The only other significant effect for Cohort A was the main effect of "ethnic status" and "times students changed school" on the dependent variable. However, it should be noted that only the main effect was significant and only at 0.047

level of significance.

For Cohort B the various combinations of independent variables result in seven main effects that are statistically significant. In the first six combinations either "age when students started school" or the "times students changed school" are statistically significant and the cause of the significant main effects. This is further illustrated when both variables together cause a significant main effect and then individually are both significant. Thus for Cohort B "age when starting school" and the "times students changed schools" during the period they attended school appear to effect the numbers of years a student has spent in school at the time of leaving. In neither Cohort A nor Cohort B did a significant interaction between two independent variables occur.

Results of the 2-way ANOVAs - A Cohort Only Years 1-10+

As has been previously discussed, not all information was available for all cases. In fact, two variables -- "student's religion" and "whether students lived at home while attending school" are available for Cohort A only. For each of these variables the number of missing observations is extremely high in Cohort B, 85.8 percent and 96.18 percent respectively. Analysis of Variance was then carried out with these two variables and the dependent variable for Cohort A only. A further difference was introduced as the years examined are 1-10+ rather than the previous 1-5+.

Table 5 - Results of Analysis of Variance - Both Cohorts Years 1-5+

Cohort A	Cohort B
*Main Effect - Present Location - Ethnic Status	
Main Effect - Present Location - Gender	
Main Effect - Present Location - Age When Starting School	Main Effect - Present Location - Age When Starting School
Main Effect - Present Location - Times Changed Schools	Main Effect - Present Location - Times Changed Schools
	Main Effect - Ethnic Status - Age When Starting School
**Main Effect - Ethnic Status - Times Changed Schools	Main Effect - Ethnic Status - Times Changed Schools
	Main Effect - Gender - Age When Starting School
	Main Effect - Gender - Times Changed Schools
	Main Effect - Age When Starting School - Times Changed Schools

* Main effect - The effect the two factors have on the dependent variable - "years in school at the time of leaving". The main effect and the factors that are underlined are significant at a 0.05 level of significance.

** In these cases the effect is not as great as the factor is at approximately the 0.05 level which is not as strong an effect as if for example, a factor was at the 0.001 level.

Table 6 - Results of Analysis of Variance - Cohort A Years 1-10+

Main Effect	Age When Starting School - Times Students Changed Schools*	
Main Effect	Student's Religion - Ethnic Status	
Main Effect	Student's Religion - Student's Present Location	
Main Effect	Student's Religion - Age When Starting School	
Main Effect	Student's Religion - Whether Students Lived at Home While Attending School	
Main Effect	Student's Religion - Times Students Changed Schools	
Main Effect	Whether Lived at Home While Attending School - Gender	
Main Effect	Whether Lived at Home While Attending School - Times Students Changed Schools	
Main Effect	Whether Lived at Home While Attending School - Age When Starting School	

* The main effects and the factors that are underlined are significant at a 0.05 level of significance.

The main effects were statistically significant in seven out of nine cases (see Table 6). Again "student's present location" appears significant. What is of importance is that many other independent variables -- "times students changed schools", "ethnic status", "age when starting school" -- when examined over the ten rather than five year period appear statistically significant for Cohort A. One can only postulate that the direct influence of these independent variables appears to change as the student gets older. It already has been shown that in terms of students being early school leavers, the major point of change (more specifically an increase in rate) is after the fifth year in school, the point where Cohort B ends. Additional

statistical tests explained at a later point (cross tabulations) are employed to determine if these variables are statistically significant as the reliability of ANOVA for this type of data is still questionable.

A "student's religion" in all instances does not appear statistically significant however, "whether a student lived at home while attending school" does. What is of interest is that in one instance when combined with "age when starting school" the main effect and "age" were significant but not the "live at home" variable.

Table 7 - Results of Analysis of Variance - Cohort B Years 1-5+

*Main Effect	Whether Students Attended Kindergarten	Ethnic Status
Main Effect	Whether Students Attended Kindergarten	Present Location
Main Effect	Whether Students Attended Kindergarten	Student's Gender
Main Effect	Whether Students Attended Kindergarten	Age When Starting School
Main Effect	Whether Students Attended Kindergarten	Times Students Changed Schools

* The main effects and the factors that are underlined are significant at a 0.05 level of significance.

Generally, though "whether a student lives at home while attending school" does appear statistically significant.

Results of the 2-way ANOVAs - Cohort A Only Years 1-5+

In 1965-66 few kindergartens existed in the Northwest Territories. In fact only four students out of two-hundred and

eighty-one or 1.42 percent of the students in Cohort A attended kindergarten. By 1970-71 most communities had kindergartens so students had an attendance choice. The effect of "whether students attended kindergarten" on the dependent variable is only relevant then for Cohort B.

In each case the main effect is statistically significant as is the variable "whether students attended kindergarten" (see Table 7). "Age when starting school" and "times students changed schools" have already been cited as significant for Cohort B and this is reaffirmed here.

Summary

The Analysis of Variance has partially demonstrated that the effect of "students' present location" for Cohort A Year 1-5+ is statistically significant while "age when starting school" and "times students changed school" appear significant for the corresponding group of Cohort B. Analysis of Variance further indicated four other independent variables -- "times students changed schools", "ethnic status", "age when starting school", "whether students lived at home while attending school" -- as significant for Cohort A Years 1-10+. Finally, "whether a student attended kindergarten" appears significant for Cohort B.

It is not our purpose at this point to offer a casual explanation of these results as the Analysis of Variance as employed herein is merely a test of significance. However, at this point other tests of significance will be examined to see if another

analysis of the same data but with different methods result in similar findings.

Crosstabulation -- Two-way

Whereas a two-way Analysis of Variance can be somewhat problematic with predominately nominal data, crosstabulation procedures are particularly adapted to data of this nature. A crosstabulation is a joint frequency distribution of at least two variables each of which has at least two or more values.[9] Statistical tests then can be run on the joint frequency distributions such as the chi-square as a test of significance which indicates whether the variables are statistically independent. As well, measures of association such as lambda and Cramer's V can be examined. Asymetric lambda indicates the predicative ability of the dependent variable once one knows the values of the independent variable, while Cramer's V is a measure of association which signifies only that a particular degree of association exists, but not the manner in which they are associated. However, as measures of association are not always comparable, the chi-square statistics are more functional and reliable for analysis of the nature being done in this chapter.

Thus, in the second half of this chapter contingency tables for the dependent variable and the independent variables already itemized in the discussion of Analysis of Variance will be examined and the corresponding statistics discussed. At the conclusion of this chapter, the results of the Analysis of Variance will be compared to those of the crosstabulation.

Results of 2-way Crosstabulation -- Both Cohorts

At this point variation in rates of early school leaving for both cohorts has been established. What is now relevant is to determine through crosstabulations of the dependent variable and the independent variables which independent variables are statistically significant, or which independent variables appear to definitely affect whether students are early school leavers or remain in school.

Table 8 - Rate of Early School Leaving by Age When Students Started School for the First Five Years in School for Both Cohorts

Years in School at Time of Leaving	Age in Years					
	Cohort A			Cohort B		
	6	7	8+	6	7	8+
1 year	2.8% (6)		3.2% (1)	7.2% (36)	3.7% (4)	12.5% (5)
2 years	0.5 (1)	5.1 (2)	3.3 (1)	6.0 (30)	3.7 (4)	20.0 (8)
3 years	2.8 (6)	5.1 (2)	3.3 (1)	4.2 (21)	5.6 (6)	5.0 (2)
4 years	5.7 (12)	2.6 (1)	10.0 (3)	3.2 (16)	4.6 (5)	5.0 (2)
Still in School 5+ years	88.2 (187)	87.2 (34)	80.1 (24)	79.4 (397)	82.4 (89)	57.5 (23)
Total	100.0 (212)	100.0 (39)	100.0 (30)	100.0 (500)	100.0 (180)	100.0 (40)
				Missing Observation = 7		

Cohort A
χ^2 = 4.5451, p = 0.6033
Cramer's V = 0.08993

Cohort B
χ^2 = 18.4936, p = 0.0051
Cramer's V = 0.11946

Table 9 - Rate of Early School Leaving by Age When Students Started School for the 6th to 10th Years in School for Cohort A Only

Years in School at Time of Leaving	Age in Years 6	7	8+
6 years	8.8% (16)	24.2% (8)	21.1% (4)
7 years	3.9 (7)	3.0 (1)	10.5 (2)
8 years	7.2 (13)	15.2 (5)	21.1 (4)
9 years	12.1 (22)	15.2 (5)	31.5 (6)
Still in School 10+ years	68.0 (123)	42.4 (14)	15.8 (3)
Total	100.0 (181)	100.0 (33)	100.0 (19)

Missing Observations = 48

χ^2 = 15.4501, p = 0.017
Cramer's V = 0.182.08

Age in Years When Students Started School

The first independent variable to be examined is the "age in years when students started school". The original age distribution ran from 5 years of age to 17 (see Appendix B). However, as the actual number of cases 5 years of age and those older than 8 year are relatively small, the categories were collapsed to 6 years, 7 years, and 8+ years of age.

The "age when students started school" when jointly distributed with the dependent variable differs greatly for both cohorts (see Table

8). In the three age groups 11.8 percent, 12.8 percent and 19.9 percent students respectively were early school leavers in Cohort A. This compares to 20.6 percent, 17.6 percent and 42.5 percent respectively for Cohort B. In each case 8+ years and over has the highest percentage of students who are early school leavers while Cohort B has 8.8 percent more students who are 6 years, 4.8 percent more who are 7 years, and 22.6 percent more who are 8+ years old. The statistics for students who are early school leavers indicate that the variable "age at time started school" is in fact, a significant variable for students in Cohort B (χ^2 = 18.4936, p = 0.0051); as well a strong association between the two variables exists (Cramer's V = 0.11946). This same variable is not significant for students in Cohort A (χ^2 = 4.54551, p = 0.6033) nor is the association between the two variables as strong (Cramer's V = 0.08993).

The fact that the "rate" of early school leaving dramatically increases at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth academic years has already been established. What is here relevant is to determine if for the students of Cohort A Years 6-10+ "age when started school" is a significant variable (see Table 9).

By the time the students in Cohort A, who had all started school at varying ages, reached the beginning of the sixth year in school 17.1 percent had already left school. Of the remaining students who were early school leavers, 32 percent from the 8+ group. It follows then that for students in Cohort A "age when started school", although not a significant variable for Years 1-4, does appear significant for the years in the second half of Cohort A during which the students could still be early school leavers, Years

6-9 (χ^2 = 15.4501, p = 0.017, Cramer's V = 0.18208). As a result some unanswered questions remain: why is "age when started school" a significant variable for Cohort B Years 1-4 and not for Cohort A 1-4?

Table 10 - Rate of Early School Leaving, the First Five Years Only, by the Students' Ethnic Status -- Both Cohorts

Years in School at Time of Leaving	Cohort A		Cohort B	
	Indian	Inuit	Indian	Inuit
1 year	1.4% (2)	3.7% (5)	8.7% (17)	7.2% (33)
2 years	2.0 (3)	0.7 (1)	6.1 (12)	6.5 (30)
3 years	1.4 (2)	5.2 (7)	3.1 (6)	5.2 (24)
4 years	5.4 (8)	6.1 (8)	4.1 (8)	3.3 (15)
Still in School 5+ years	89.8 (132)	84.3 (113)	78.0 (153)	77.8 (357)
Total	100.0 (147)	100.0 (134)	100.0 (196)	100.0 (459)

Cohort A
χ^2 = 3.18341, p = 0.3642
Cramer's V = 0.10644

Cohort B
χ^2 = 7.93375, p = 0.050
Cramer's V = 0.11007

Further, why is the same variable significant for Cohort A Years 6-9 which also happens to be the same actual span of years as Years 1-5+?

Table 11 - Rate of Early School Leaving, the 6th to 10th Years Only, by the Students' Ethnic Status -- Cohort A only

Years in School at Time of Leaving	Indian	Inuit
6 years	4.9% (6)	20.0% (22)
7 years	5.7 (7)	2.7 (3)
8 years	9.8 (12)	9.1 (10)
9 years	13.0 (16)	15.5 (17)
Still in School 10+ years	66.6 (82)	52.7 (58)
Total	100.0 (123)	100.0 (110)

Missing Observations = 48

χ^2 = 13,48776, p = 0.0037, Cramer's V = 0.2406

Ethnic Status

Another variable that one might expect to be significant is "ethnic status". All students in this sample were Inuit or Indian. As was seen in Chapter 2, a student's ethnicity is often cited as influencing or to some extent determining a student's success in academic endeavors. But to what extent does this data support some of the inferences found in the literature?

In Cohort A by the fourth year, 10.2 percent of the Indian students while 15.7 percent Inuit students had already quit school (see Table 10). In Cohort B the figures are somewhat higher --

2.0 percent respectively. The variable "ethnic status" does not appear significant for Cohort A for the Years 1-4 (χ^2 = 3.1831, p = 0.3642); so in other words, whether a student with up to four years already in school is Inuit or Indian does not appear to have any major impact on whether he is an early school leaver or not. However, "ethnic status" does appear significant for Cohort B Years 1-4 (χ^2 = 7.03375, p = 0.05, Cramer's V = 0.11007) yet it is "just" statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

The picture, however, changes somewhat when the effects of "ethnic status" are examined for Cohort A Years 6-10+ (see Table 11). From the 6-9 years 33.4 percent Indian students and 47.3 percent Inuit students leave school. In other words, over a four year period 13.9 percent more Inuit than Indians are early school leavers. This difference does indeed prove to be significant (χ^2 = 13.48776, p = 0.0037, Cramer's V = 0.2406). Some possible explanations for this difference in behaviour patterns between Inuit and Indians will be later discussed.

One other ascribed characteristic that was previously discussed was "gender". For both Cohorts a student's "gender" did not appear to influence whether that student was an early school leaver or not (see Appendix C).

Number and Times Students Changed Schools

"Number of times students changed schools" on the other hand definately appeared significant although not for all students. For

Cohort A Year 1-5+ the "number of times a student changed schools" had no apparent affect as to whether these children were early school leavers (see Table 12). Some major problems exist with the three tables that examine "times students changed schools". The researcher concluded at this point that collapsing categories of the dependent variable and collapsing categories of the independent variable so that there would not be an excessive number of cells for cases would render the resulting data meaningless. It is of interest to see the actual number of changes that students made in light of the actual time spent in school. Hopefully, the weakness of the statistics of the three tables will be counterbalanced by the Analysis of Variance.

"Number of times students changed schools" did appear significant for the students in Cohort B (see Table 13). Initially, a point of interest is that during the first five years of school, all students changed schools at least once. Of interest also is that students who were early school leavers changed school once, twice or three times, but the twelve students who supposedly changed schools four and five times were still in school at the time of data collection. The majority of early school leavers, 90.3 percent, had changed only once and 67.9 percent of this group left after the first and second year of school. It appears then that "number of times students changed schools" did signficantly affect the students in Cohort B (χ^2 = 112.60137, p = 0.0001, Cramer's V = 0.23938), but not in the manner that might be expected. One would expect that the more schools students attended the more likely they would be early

school leavers but one readily can see that this is not necessarily the case for Cohort B.

Again with Cohort A Years 6-10+ "number of times students changed schools" appears significant (see Table 14). At the outset the fact that not all schools offer all grades throughout the Northwest Territories needs to be considered.[11] In this light it is not surprising, therefore, that by the time students have been in school for six years and over that they have changed school two or three times. What is more surprising is that some students (70) did not change schools at all. Two explanations can be given here.

Firstly, recording errors might have contributed to the problem as sometimes "communities" were recorded rather than "schools", so that one can determine the community but not the particular school. In another case "school" by name was recorded, but only the partial name. Thus for example, a student could live in Yellowknife and attend St. Patrick's elementary and St. Patrick's secondary schools over the ten year period. On the student's information file "St. Patrick's" or "Yellowknife" would account for the student being noted as having never changed schools.

Secondly, it could also mean that the student in fact did not change schools. Many schools throughout the Northwest Territories offer grades kindergarten to 9 or 10. Although observers in the South might assume a change of schools from elementary to junior to senior, this is not necessarily the case in the North.

The dramatic increase of rate of early school leaving at the beginning of Year 6 has already been shown in the first part of

Table 12 - Rate of Early School Leaving by Number of Times Students Changed Schools for Cohort A Years 1-5+

Years in School at Time of Leaving	Times Students Changed School 0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 year		6.1% (6)		4.0% (1)				
2 years		2.0 (2)	4.1 (2)					
3 years		6.1 (6)	4.1 (2)		4.8 (1)			
4 years		5.0 (5)	6.1 (3)	8.0 (2)	9.5 (2)	27.3 (3)	25.0 (1)	
Still in School 5+ years	100.0 (70)	80.8 (80)	85.7 (42)	88.0 (22)	85.7 (18)	72.7 (8)	75.0 (3)	100.0 (2)
Total	100.0 (70)	100.0 (99)	100.0 (49)	100.0 (25)	100.0 (21)	100.0 (11)	100.0 (4)	100.0 (2)

$\chi^2 = 24.57$, $p = 0.266$, Cramer's V = 0.17071

Table 13 - Rate of Early School Leaving by Number of Times Students Changed Schools for Cohort B
Years 1-5+

Years in School Time of Leaving	Times Students Changed Schools 0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 year		9.5% (50)						
2 years		7.4 (39)	5.2 (3)					
3 years		4.7 (25)	3.4 (2)	5.2 (3)				
4 years		3.3 (17)	1.7 (1)	8.6 (5)				
Still in School 5+ years		75.1 (396)	89.7 (52)	86.2 (50)	100.0 (11)	100.0 (1)		
Total		100.0 (527)	100.0 (58)	100.0 (58)	100.0 (11)	100.0 (1)		

χ^2 = 112.60137, p = 0.0001, Cramer's V = 0.23938

Table 14 - Rate of Early School Leaving by Number of Times Students Changed Schools for Cohort A Years 6-10+

Years in School at Time of Leaving	Times Students Changed Schools 0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6 years		28.6% (18)	2.4% (1)	21.7% (5)	15.8% (3)		25.0% (1)	
7 years		4.8 (3)	4.9 (2)	8.7 (2)	15.8 (3)			
8 years		9.5 (6)	14.6 (6)	21.7 (5)	15.8 (3)	9.0 (1)	25.0 (1)	
9 years		20.6 (13)	12.1 (5)	21.7 (5)	15.8 (3)	45.5 (5)	25.0 (1)	50.0 (1)
Still in School 10+ years	100.0 (70)	36.5 (23)	65.9 (27)	26.2 (6)	36.8 (7)	45.5 (5)	25.0 (1)	50.0 (1)
Total	100.0 (70)	100.0 (63)	100.0 (41)	100.0 (23)	100.0 (19)	100.0 (11)	100.0 (4)	100.0 (2)

Missing Observations = 48

χ^2 = 15,45006, p = 0.017, Cramer's V = 0.18208

this chapter. Up to this point in Cohort A, 17.1 percent of the students in the sample had already left school. During the next four years another 33.1 percent were early school leavers. Of this group who left between Years 6-9, when the percentages were calculated to determine the "numbers of times students changed schools" 43 percent changed one time, 15.1 percent two times, and 18.3 percent three times, 12.9 percent four times, 6.5 percent five times, 3.2 percent six times, and 1.0 percent seven times. In fact, as for Cohort B, the crucial number of changes appear to be once, twice, and three times. For Cohort A Years 6-10+, as for Cohort B, "number of times students changed schools" appears significant as to whether students decided to remain in school or become early school leavers (χ^2 = 15.45006, p = 0.017, Cramer's V = 0.18208).

Student's Present Location

The final independent variable to be considered for both cohorts is "student's present location". This variable was created by taking the student's present location and recoding it according to the location's legal status -- settlement, village and hamlet, town and city. Still using a probability of less than 0.05 as significant, the results indicate "student's present location" is not significant for either cohort over the period being examined.

Before further considering the possible implications of the above findings, the independent variables that were examined for either Cohort A or Cohort B individually will now briefly be discussed.

Results of 2-way Crosstabulation - Cohort A Only

As previously explained not all data was available for all students. As a result, the variables "student's religious affiliation" and "whether students lived at home while attending school" are two variables available for Cohort A only.

"Students religious affiliation" did not appear to affect significantly whether a student was an early school leaver or not. However, "whether students lived at home while attending school" most definitely appeared to have an impact (see Table 15). Of the students in Cohort A Years 1-10+, 69.4 percent lived at home while attending school while 30.6 percent did not. Of these students 43.1 percent of the students who lived at home were early school leavers as compared to 66.3 percent of those that did not live at home. In this sample then 23.2 percent more students who did not live at home left school before the tenth year. Thus, "whether students lived at home while attending school" definitely appeared to be a significant influence as to whether or not students become early school leavers (χ^2 = 25.12214, p = 0.0015, Cramer's V = 0.299).

Results of 2-way Crosstabulation - Cohort B Only

By 1970, the year the students of Cohort B would have been attending kindergarten, approximately 90 percent of the communities and towns in the Northwest Territories had kindergarten for their young children. Therefore, by the time most children in Cohort B were of age they had the option to go to kindergarten which was not the case for the students in Cohort A.

Table 15 - Rate of Early School Leaving by Whether Students Lived at Home While Attending School for Cohort A Only*

Years in School at Time of Leaving	Whether Students Live at Home: Yes	No
1 year	1.0% (2)	4.7% (4)
2 years	0.5 (1)	3.5 (3)
3 years	3.1 (6)	2.3 (2)
4 years	2.1 (4)	3.5 (3)
5 years	9.2 (18)	5.8 (5)
6 years	10.8 (2)	8.1 (7)
7 years	1.0 (2)	9.3 (8)
8 years	5.6 (11)	12.8 (11)
9 years	9.8 (19)	16.3 (14)
Still in School 10+ years	56.9 (111)	33.7 (29)
Total	100.0 (195)	100.0 (86)

χ^2 = 25.12214, p = 0.0015, Cramer's V = 0.299

"Whether students attended kindergarten" appeared to have a significant affect on whether or not the students became early school leavers (see Table 16). Of the sample 655 students just slightly over half attended kindergarten. Of those that attended 15.1 percent

became early school leavers before the beginning of Year 5. This compares to 28.6 percent of the students who did not attend kindergarten. It appears then that 13.5 percent more students who did not attend kindergarten became early school leavers in Cohort B. "Whether students attended kindergarten" definitely appeared significant (χ^2 = 19.12, p = 0.0007, Cramer's V = 0.1709). It would appear that students who have attended kindergarten have a better chance at not being early school leavers.

Table 16 - Rate of Early School Leaving by Whether Students Attended Kindergarten for Cohort B

Years in School at Time of Leaving	Attended Kindergarten: Yes	Attended Kindergarten: No
1 year	5.4% (17)	9.6% (33)
2 years	3.8 (12)	8.8 (30)
3 years	2.6 (8)	6.4 (22)
4 years	3.3 (3.3)	3.8 (13)
Still in School 5+ years	84.9 (265)	71.4 (245)
Total	100.0 (343)	100.0 (312)

χ^2 = 19.12, p = 0.0007, Cramer's V = 0.1709

Summary and Discussion

At this point the results of the two methods of analysis -- Analysis of Variance and Crosstabulations -- will be compared; logically the results should be similar. Because this is an exploratory study, to attempt to give definitive, casual explanations would be erroneous. The merits of this particular type of study is to determine through tests which variables appear to be significant. A similar approach on a different perspective of the same topic is done in Chapter 4. The two chapters will attempt to create a composite picture of the factors associated with the young Inuit and Indian students in the Northwest Territories who leave school at an early age, often far before a level of academic attainment has been achieved that would be considered minimally adequate by southern standards.

The analysis appeared relatively straight forward for Cohort B. Both Analysis of Variance and Crosstabulations isolated "age when started school", "number of times students changed schools" and "whether students attended kindergarten" as significant. Crosstabulations further indicated "ethnic status" as statistically significant. For the period, first five years in school for Cohort A, "student's present location" was significant through ANOVA only.[12]

However, this general pattern for Cohort A changed dramatically when the second half of Cohort A was analyzed. Through both ANOVA's and Crosstabulations four variables were cited as significant -- "Age when started school", "number of times students changed schools", "whether a student lived at home while attending school" and "ethnic status".

Conclusion

It was stated at the outset that a group of Inuit and Indian students would be followed for a ten year period identified as Cohort A. At the beginning of the sixth year another group would then also be followed (Cohort B) both up to 1975. From this one could then compare the patterns of each group. The results of this comparison appear to be quite different.

Firstly, although students dropped out during 1966-70, Cohort A Years 1-5+ none of the variables identified appeared to really affect the behaviour. This was not the case for students in the equivalent first five years, Cohort B. To these youngsters "age when started school", "ethnic status", "number of times they changed schools" or "whether they attended kindergarten" appeared to have an impact. Furthermore, the actual "rate" of dropping out was significantly higher. One might speculate, as discussed in Chapter 1, that the changes in the North have been so rapid and far reaching that the experiences of the young indigenous person even over a five year period may have changed greatly. However, one should also consider the possibility that because the size of "n" for the two cohorts years 1-5+ differed greatly, none of the variables appeared statistically significant for Cohort A. As the reader will recall, the focus of the study is the percentage of students who are early school leavers which for Cohort A is 36 out of a possible 281 and for Cohort B 145 out of a possible 655. This also may account for that fact that many of the independent variables become statistically

significant for Cohort A Years 1-10+ for as the rate of drop-outs increases after the fifth year, the size of "n" also increases.

With the second half of Cohort A Years 6-10+ further dynamic changes were seen. The rate of early school leaving accelerated. For the first time in Cohort A "age when started school" appeared significant, as did "ethnic status", "number of times students changed schools", and "whether students lived at home while attending school". The author has avoided the temptation to offer global conclusions based on minimal data, and has instead chosen to consider this information as a partial examination of the changing social fibre of the North.

In other words, in terms of young people who, as they progress through school, may need to leave home, go to other communities to get the education they desire, and also try to cope with the growing social pressures of life in the North. As has been previously discussed the socio-economic changes in the North have been vast, and the young of the indigenious population will not go unaffected.

At the outset of this study, the change in control, administration and structure of the northern school system was cited as one of the reasons the Year 1971 was chosen as the year to begin to follow the second Cohort. Again one can only speculate that some of the differences during the first five years of schooling for both cohorts might in some way be the result of these structural changes as well as the above socio-economic changes.

At this point, many questions are being left unanswered, the majority of which will hopefully be addressed in Chapter 4. In that

section the sample is not representative but rather "factual" information about students who are early school leavers -- information which is not available for students in the cohort study.

FOOTNOTES

1. According to the Northwest Territories Annual Reports, the total enrolment in school for the academic year 1966-67 was 7,767. The second cohort is made up of all students who started school in 1971 and the report sets school enrolment for this year at 11,184.

2. Unless the researcher was absolutely certain the student was Inuit or Indian, he was not included in the sample. Non-natives and Metis were not included because there is no differentiation made between Metis and Euro-Canadians. Furthermore, the Euro-Canadians would not make a sound group for comparisons as for a large majority, their stay in the North is temporary.

3. Cumulative tables were generated for the data included in Tables 1 and 2; however, the tables were not included in the text. An examination of the cumulative tables reveals why they do not appear appropriate for the text. The main thrust of the cumulative tables is the progress of students through the 'grade' levels. As has been discussed grade levels, as such, are not reliable in this particular data collection. Furthermore, the main focus of this study is the length of time students are in school and the points at which they leave.

4. The computer systems at the University of Alberta (Edmonton) and the University of Lethbridge (Lethbridge) were utilized in order to create the necessary data files and run frequencies, analysis of variance and crosstabulations with the accompanying statistics. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) provided the appropriate outputs.

5. Clarie Selltiz, Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations, Revised One-Volume Edition Holt, Rinehart and Winston (Toronto; 159) pp. 113.

6. Hubert M. Blalock, Jr. Social Statistics, McGraw-Hill Book Co. (Toronto; 1972) pp. 348.

7. The Analysis of Variance was also run in two different manners. For example -- ANOVAs were run for Cohort A Years 1-5+, and Cohort B Years 1-4. The overall patterns of significance other than in degree did not change. Therefore, it was decided to omit the analysis of Years 1-4 and Years 6-9 for Cohort A as the insights they provided did not appear to be that relevant. The tables from these runs are available from the author.

8. The various communities in the Northwest Territories were recoded according to the classification used in the Canada North Almanac, Volume 1, May 1975. The almanac gives a detailed description of each community as well as its classification which can be either one of the following: unorganized settlement, settlement, hamlet, village, town or city. These categories were used in the analysis as they made the data more manageable as well as incorporating in the variable 'present location' a level of development of the individual communities.

9. Norman H. Nie, C. Hadlai Hull, Jean G. Jenkins, Karin Steinbrenner, Dale H. Brent, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, 2nd. ed. McGraw-Hill (Toronto: 1975), pp. 219.

10. Statistics were run for all crosstabulations in two manners. Firstly, they were run for years 1-5+; secondly, they were run for years 1-4. The statistics given in the text are for Years 1-4 as it is during this time period that a student can be an early school leaver. To include the fifth year would also include those students who are going on as well as some who may drop out at the beginning of the sixth year. All the statistics for the crosstabulation tables are available from the author. Also if at any time the author feels that by including the statistics from Years 1-5+ will help clarify a point, she will do so. This same argument applies to the figures for Cohort B Years 6-9 and 9-10+.

11. Schools in the Northwest Territories that offer particular grades:

Grades Offered	Number of Schools
K - 3	3
K - 6	12
K - 7	1
K - 8	15
K - 9	26
K - 10	2
4 - 7	1
6 - 10	1
7 - 12	4
8 - 12	1
9 - 12	1
Total	67

Source: The Department of Education, Yellowknife, August, 1976 and Canada North Almanac, Vol. 1, May, 1975.

12. Some question presently exists as to whether the variable "student's present location" should even have been included and whether it really tells us anything meaningful. On each student's information card "student's present location" was recorded. This is the community, town, or city where the student lived when the card was filled out. This never changes although frequently the community in which the student attended school did change. One can question at this point the significance of this variable in this analysis. What insights into influence factors that cause a student to be an early school leaver does it provide? The author's conjecture would be "very little, if anything at all". Without further information to make this variable more relevant, the results actually are quite meaningless. Thus for Cohort A Years 1-5+ no variable appears statistically significant.

CHAPTER FOUR

Early School Leaving in the Northwest Territories: A Second Data Base

In the previous chapter, the cohort analysis of Indian and Inuit students who started school in 1966 and 1971 established a high rate of early school leavers in schools throughout the Northwest Territories. However, from the previous data analysis (Chapter 3) the reader has been given no indication of why students left school, nor their intended destinations upon leaving school.

If, as has been previously suggested (Chapter 2), early school leavers in the Northwest Territories have the opportunity to choose between two viable alternatives that do not exist for their counterparts in southern Canada, an analysis of students' intended destinations should support this premise. We can then expect to see two different types of native early school leavers: those who opt for life in the larger settlement in accordance to the values and ideologies of the dominant metropolis, and those who return to the traditional way of life.

In order to further examine the factors that may affect a student's decision to withdraw from school or continue his education as well as the aforementioned questions, students' school withdrawal forms completed for Indian and Inuit students leaving school between 1971 and 1975 will be examined. The age of the student at the time the forms were completed, his grade level, gender, ethnicity and whether or not he lived at home while attending school will all be considered in order to determine which variables appear to influence the individual student's decision.

The Sample

Since 1971, principals in the Northwest Territories have been requested to complete standard withdrawal forms for students who have left school (See Appendix D). The forms record the following information: the student's full name, name of school, community of school, student's home settlement, gender, ethnic status, birthdate, date of withdrawal, grade in which last registered, whether the student successfully completed the grade, and destination. The forms were initiated by Statistics Canada. For the first few years the completed forms were sent to Ottawa for analysis. More recently these forms have been kept in Yellowknife as the officials of the Northwest Territorities Department of Education and Statistics Canada felt that these forms do not provide a representative sample of school withdrawals in the Northwest Territories, as it has been suggested that not all principals consistently complete and send in the forms. Therefore, no systematic analysis of these forms has been carried out either at Statistics Canada or in Yellowknife. However, from the withdrawal forms the following information appears to be available: how long native students stay in school, the age of the students when they leave school and some indication of academic achievement, and intended destinations.

As these forms were not collated in any systematic order, it was necessary for the author to examine each form and select the forms for which the ethnic status of the student was indicated to be either Inuit or Indian. The third category on the forms, "other" includes both Metis, and Euro-Canadians; therefore, the forms on

which ethnic status was marked "other" were not included in this sample, as the overall objective is to examine "native" early school leaving.

The sample consists of 1,126 forms. These forms were completed by principals of schools administered by the Department of Education in Yellowknife over a five year period, from 1971 to 1975. Forms are not available for students who withdrew from school prior to 1971. The sample selected is only a portion of the available forms, however, the sample represents all students for whom forms were filled out, and whose ethnic status was indicated to be Inuit or Indian. The sample cannot be treated as one that purports to be a representative sample of all native early school leavers in the Northwest Territories, but rather this sample will be analyzed and treated as an unique population.

Variables that Influence a Native Student's Decision to Continue or Discontinue Formal Education

The student's destination at the time the withdrawal form was completed is the dependent variable. The working hypothesis states that two types of native early school leavers can be differentiated; however, all students for whom withdrawal forms were filled out, are not necessarily early school leavers. A withdrawal form is completed when a student leaves a particular school. The student may be transferring to another school, or may be withdrawing from school. Thus, immediately the variable "destinations" can be divided into two groups - those students who

transfer to another school, and those who actually withdraw from school.

In the sample, at the time of withdrawal, 61.9 percent of the students gave their destination as another school, while 38.1 percent gave a destination that indicates that that particular student did not, at the time intend to continue his formal education; thus, approximately two-thirds of the native students for whom withdrawal forms were completed transfer, and continue their formal education (see Table 1). Of the students who were transferring 89.5 percent were continuing their education in another elementary, or secondary school administered by the government of the Northwest Territories.

Table 1 - Percentage Distribution of Intended Destinations at Time of Withdrawal for Native Students in the Northwest Territories

1. Continuing education at:	
An elementary or secondary school administered by Government of the NWT	55.4%
An elementary or secondary school not administered by Government of the NWT	
(a) located in NWT	2.7
(b) located outside NWT	2.7
University or affiliated colleges	0.1
Teachers college	0.1
Business college	0.0
Trade school	0.3
Technical institute or community college	0.1
School of nursing	0.0
Other education institution	0.5
2. To employment	8.3
3. To other destinations:	
Marriage (girls only)	2.0
Helping at home - domestic duties (girls only)	7.8
Corrective institution	0.4
Illness or disability	0.4
Death	1.0
Out of work	3.7
Other	14.5
Total	100.0

Sample Size - 1,107
Missing Observations - 19

As the principals of the schools completed the forms, some doubt as to the reliability of the destinations given may exist. Whether the student actually told the principal where he was going, or whether the prinicipal inferred the destination he indicated on the form, or if the form was completed after the fact with information provided by someone other than the student who withdrew, cannot be determined in this study. Thus, a major underlying assumption in this data analysis is that the destinations given on the forms are those provided by the principals of the schools, Whether or not these destinations were actually followed through could only be determined by doing a follow-up study of individual students who withdrew.

Traditionally, the northern indigenous people are a nomadic people; therefore, evidence indicating that a native child may attend several different schools throughout his academic career is to be expected. In fact the movement from settlement to settlement usually only reflects the travels of the student's family over a period of time. Also, the high number of students who transfer can be further explained by the fact that most communities have schools that offer only kindergarten and some of the elementary grades; therefore, once a student reaches a particular level, if he wants to continue his education, he often has to move to another community.[1]

In this study, the focus is on native early school leaving. A similar population of native students remaining in school to form a basis for comparison is not available; therefore, assuming that students who transfer are still in school as their given destinations would indicate, students who transfer will be compared to students who actually withdraw.

Gender and Ethnic Status

The variable ethnic status, and gender do appear to have some impact as to whether students continue in school, or whether they withdraw. Patterns of transferring and withdrawing are similar for Inuit and Indian females; however, the similarity does not hold for the males (see Table 2). 64.5 percent Inuit and 64.8 percent Indian females transfer to another school, while 35.5 percent and 35.2 percent respectively withdraw. On the other hand, 60.6 percent Inuit and 54.7 percent Indian males transfer, while 39.4 percent and 45.3 percent respectively, withdraw. Thus, 6 percent more Inuit males transfer than Indian males, whereas almost 6 percent more Indian males in this sample withdraw from school than do Inuit males. On the whole, however, within the sample ethnicity does not appear to be a major determining variable.

Table 2 - Destinations of Students in the Northwest Territories by Gender and Ethnic Status

Intended Destination:	Inuit		Indian	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Transfer	60.6 (223)	64.5 (263)	54.7 (81)	64.8 (116)
Withdraw	39.4 (145)	35.5 (145)	45.3 (67)	35.2 (63)
Total	100.0 (368)	100.0 (408)	100.0 (148)	100.0 (179

Sample Size - 1,103
Missing Observations - 23

The student's gender, however, does appear to have a greater impact. 60.6 percent Inuit males transfer, as do 64.5 percent Inuit

females, while 39.4 percent Inuit males and 35.5 percent Inuit females withdraw. Percentage differences indicate that 3.9 percent more Inuit males than females in this sample withdraw. The percentage difference, however, is far greater in the Indian population of the sample. Fifty-four percent Indian males transfer, as opposed to 64.8 percent Indian females, while 45.3 percent Indian males and 35.2 percent Indian females withdraw. Thus, 10.1 percent more Indian males in the sample withdraw than do their female counterparts.

That males in the Northwest Territories are more likely to be early school leavers than females is not unexpected. Occupations of the unskilled or semi-skilled variety are more readily available for men than women, especially in smaller communities. Furthermore, the traditional way of life encourages young women to develop the skills that would make them effective mothers and wives. From such a perspective, some female education might be an asset. Young men, on the other hand, might not readily see, from life in the settlement, how an extended education would necessarily better their life chances in the light of the fact that the unskilled or semi-skilled jobs that are readily available guarantee some type of immediate, tangible reward.

The difference between Indian and Inuit males is more difficult to explain. As the difference is only 5.9 percent, one might be safer to assume that the difference is caused by either a sampling problem, or it might reflect differences in the communities in which the subjects live. In other words, one might assume that more Indian communities tend to be located in the southern part of the Northwest Territories, and thus have more contact with Euro-Canadians, and have more diverse

opportunities than their Inuit counterparts.

Age of the Student

The age of a student is a significant variable in the analysis of native early school leaving. The majority of students who transfer were in either the "9-12 years" age group, or the "13-16 years" group. However, students who withdraw fell mainly in the "13-16 years" and the "17-20 years" groups (see Table 3). The "5-8 years" and the "9-12 years" age groups account for 39.2 percent of Inuit males who transfer, 46.9 percent Inuit females, 46.3 percent Indian males, and 43.7 percent Indian females. These age groups account for far fewer of the students in the sample who withdraw: 14.4 percent Inuit males, 5.9 percent Inuit females, 14.3 percent Indian males, and 12.8 percent Indian females. In the first two age groups, of the students who transfer, the highest percentage is the young Indian males; of the students who withdraw, Inuit males account for the highest number, and Inuit females, the least. On the whole, six times as many students in the two age groups -- "5-8 years" and "9-12 years" transfer rather than withdraw. (267 give their intended destination as another school, while 42 indicate they plan to withdraw.)

The "13-16 years" age group includes the highest proportion of all students in the sample. For students who withdraw, in all cases but that of Indian females, the "13-16 years" group accounts for over fifty percent of each category. Yet when combined with the "17-20 years" group, a much higher proportion of the students withdrawing are accounted for than those who transfer. Sixty point eight percent of Inuit males,

Table 3 - Age at Time of Withdrawal or Transference in Age Groups by Ethnic Status and Gender

		5-8 yrs.	9-12 yrs.	13-16 yrs.	17-20 yrs.	21-22 yrs.	Total
Inuit							
Males	Transfer	14.5% (30)	24.7% (51)	56.5% (117)	4.3% (9)		100.0% (207)
	Withdraw	6.4 (8)	8.0 (10)	54.2 (67)	29.8 (37)	1.6 (2)	100.0 (124)
Females	Transfer	16.3 (38)	30.6 (71)	46.6 (108)	6.5 (15)		100.0 (232)
	Withdraw	0.7 (1)	5.2 (7)	61.4 (82)	32.0 (43)	0.7 (1)	100.0 (134)
Indian							
Males	Transfer	15.0 (10)	31.3 (21)	41.7 (28)	12.0 (8)		100.0 (67)
	Withdraw	5.4 (3)	8.9 (5)	57.6 (33)	26.3 (15)	1.8 (1)	100.0 (57)
Females	Transfer	13.2 (14)	30.5 (32)	39.1 (41)	16.2 (17)	1.0 (1)	100.0 (105)
	Withdraw	8.0 (5)	4.8 (3)	43.6 (27)	43.6 (27)		100.0 (62)

Sample Size - 988
Missing Observations - 138

53.1 percent Inuit females, 53.7 percent Indian males, and 55.3 percent of Indian females in the sample who transfer fall within the thirteen to twenty age range of the two combined age groups. This same time span accounts for 84.0 percent Inuit males, 93.4 percent Inuit females, 83.9 percent Indian males, and 87.2 percent Indian females who withdraw. The percentage differences are 23.2 percent for Inuit males, 41.3 percent for females, 30.2 percent for Indian males and 31.9 percent for Indian females. Therefore, within this sample approximately 30 percent more Indian students, male and female, between the ages of thirteen and twenty withdrew from school than transferred. This similarity does not hold for the Inuit students as within the same age range approximately 40 percent more Inuit females withdrew than transferred, while only 23.2 percent more males followed the same pattern.

One may conclude that the largest single age group for both withdrawals and transfers is the "13-16 years" age group, and that although larger percentages of native students in the "5-8 years" and "9-12 years" age groups do transfer, relatively fewer students in these groups actually appear to indicate they plan to withdraw. Also, relatively few students in the "17-20 years" group appear to transfer -- only 8 percent of all the students who transfer in the sample. Yet approximately 32 percent of all the students in this sample who withdraw are in this same group.

The "13-16 years" age group appears to be the crucial age group both for students who transfer and those who withdraw. Assuming that students progress at the rate of one-grade-per-year, students

within this group would be in grades eight to eleven. As previously mentioned, many schools in the Northwest Territories do not offer the complete range of grades; therefore, a large proportion of the students who transfer, especially in this particular age group, might be doing so solely to continue their education at the next higher level. Again, the fact that relatively few students actually withdraw before the teen years is to be expected, as many of the available alternatives (the main being steady employment) to going to school demand some maturity both physically and emotionally.

The examination of the distribution of students' ages at the time the forms were completed, leads the author to observe that for students who withdraw, male or female, Inuit or Indian, the majority are in their early teens, and the percentage of students who withdraw increases between the ages of thirteen and sixteen, and slowly decreases up through the late teen years.

Grade Retardation

Additional information on the completed forms might further explain the phenomenon of early school leaving of Inuit and Indian students in the Northwest Territories. Indicators of school progress can be found by examining the grade levels completed and the age of the student at the time the form was completed. One might speculate that students who do poorly in school, or get behind their peer group in school are more likely to withdraw from school at an early age than students who do well and progress at the accepted norm of one-grade-per-year.

On the forms space was provided where the principals could indicate the grade level at which the student was functioning at the time the form was completed. Although the use of grade levels was discontinued throughout the educational system in the Northwest Territories in the early 70's and thus officially "grades" were not used, on most forms (just over 80 percent) a grade level for a student was indicated. One is led to assume that although grades were not used in the classroom, or with students and their parents, the traditional levels of achievement as indicated by grades still provide a useful frame of reference for teachers and administrators. Using these given grade levels and "standard progress" which is calculated as one-grade-per-year, norms from which grade retardation rates can be calculated for the students in this sample can be established (see Table 4).

A definite pattern within the grade retardation levels, other than a gradual increase over time, is difficult to establish from the tabulations in Table 4. For each particular grade, the retardation level is expressed in years. Thus, in grade one Inuit males in the sample are 1.9 years behind the norm established by the one-grade-per-year calculations, Inuit females 1.5 years, Indian males 2.0 years, and Indian females 1.8 years. Or expressed differently, assuming students start grade one at six years of age, the average Inuit male in grade one would be 7.9 years old, the Inuit female 7.5 years, the Indian male 8 years old, and the Indian female 7.8 years old. By grade five, Inuit males, females and Indian males, females are 4.0 years, 3.1 years, 3.8 years, and 1.8 years respectively older than the anticipated age for that grade. By grade eight the distribution has changed to 3.0

Table 4 - Rates of Grade Retardation* in Years for Students for Whom Forms Were Completed by Gender and Ethnic Status

Grades	Inuit Male	Inuit Female	Indian Male	Indian Female
Preschool	1.3 yrs. (6)	1.3 yrs. (19)		1.5 yrs. (4)
Grade 1	1.9 (22)	1.5 (15)	2.0 (11)	1.8 (10)
Grade 2	2.3 (17)	2.1 (27)	1.5 (4)	2.5 (10)
Grade 3	3.2 (21)	2.4 (26)	3.1 (9)	2.3 (4)
Grade 4	2.9 (22)	4.2 (27)	3.6 (10)	2.1 (12)
Grade 5	4.0 (31)	3.1 (34)	3.8 (11)	1.8 (6)
Grade 6	2.9 (68)	3.1 (76)	3.6 (13)	2.7 (21)
Grade 7	3.4 (39)	3.8 (43)	4.1 (11)	3.5 (23)
Grade 8	3.0 (27)	3.0 (49)	2.7 (18)	2.5 (25)
Grade 9	2.1 (41)	2.9 (36)	2.5 (12)	3.3 (15)
Grade 10	2.4 (8)	4.0 (3)	3.4 (9)	2.3 (12)
Grade 11		1.0 (2)	2.0 (1)	2.5 (6)
Grade 12	2.5 (2)	2.3 (3)	3.0 (5)	2.3 (6)
Average	2.7 (304)	2.7 (360)	2.9 (114)	2.4 (154)

* The figure show the number of grades the student is "retarded". If he completed one grade per year since age 6, the figure is 0. Also, students who were taking vocational programs were not included.

Sample Size - 932
Missing Observations - 194

years, 3.0 years, 2.7 years, and 2.5 years respectively. The sporadic nature of the increases may be due to sampling problems, or the fact that frequently the case number in a particular cell is less than ten. The overall average rate of retardation is 2.7 years for Inuit males, 2.7 years for Inuit females, 2.9 years for Indian males, and 2.4 years

Table 5 - Comparison of Rates of Grade Retardation* in the Survey of Education, Northwest Territories, 1972 and this Study

	1972 Educational Survey				Withdrawal Forms	
	1961 Group		1962 Group		1971-75	
Grades	Inuit	Indian	Inuit	Indian	Inuit	Indian
Grade 1	2.57	1.43	2.32	1.17	1.7	1.9
Grade 2	3.34	2.16	2.90	1.60	2.2	2.0
Grade 3	3.69	2.20	3.22	2.00	2.8	2.7
Grade 5	3.06	2.22	2.53	2.10	3.6	2.8
Grade 7	2.31	1.81	1.95	2.07	3.6	3.8
Grade 9	1.88	1.78	1.47	1.62	2.5	2.9
Average	2.80	1.90	2.40	1.76	2.7	2.7

* Figure represent the number of years in school minus the grade level achieved; if the student has achieved one level per year since the age of 6 the figure is 0.

Source: Department of Education, Yellowknife. Survey of Education, Northwest Territories, 1972: 126.

for Indian females. Although a concise model to predict native grade retardation cannot be drawn from this sample, the overall averages indicate that the Indian and Inuit students in this sample, whether male or female, by the completion of schooling tend to be approximately three years behind the norm established by the one-grade-per-year standard. Grade retardation is obviously somewhat cumulative; thus, by the time a native student in this sample has reached his last year in school, that student would probably be about three grades behind what would be expected for his age.

The levels of grade retardation calculated from the sample for this study are quite different from the levels obtained by the Department of Education in Yellowknife in their Survey of Education, Northwest Territories, 1972. The Department of Education's figures

were calculated by following two groups of students through school -- students who started school in 1961 and in 1962. On the other hand, the students who make up the sample of this study represent a more diverse group of Indian and Inuit students whose grade level and age were noted at one particular point in time. The disparity in the results is significant (see Table 5).

The Department of Education's figures suggest that, on the average, the Inuit students in the 1961 group were 0.9 years behind Indian students in the same group. Figures for the 1962 group indicate that the gap has decreased; however, Inuit students still are behind their Indian peers by 0.6 years. Similar averages calculated from grade levels indicated on the withdrawal forms give the average overall rate of grade retardation to be similar for both Inuit and Indian students -- 2.7 years.

Two assumptions made in the survey in regard to grade retardation levels of Inuit and Indian students in the Northwest Territories are not supported by the data in this study. The assumptions that average retardation drops as higher grades are reached, and that grade retardation levels are consistently higher for Inuit students than for Indian students is not supported by the above analysis. In fact, grade retardation levels obtained from the analysis of the withdrawal forms indicate that both Inuit and Indian students, while in school, will experience very similar levels of grade retardation. Furthermore, from this there appears to be no proof or evidence to support the "myth" that Indian students will fair better than Inuit students.

When average years of grade retardation were calculated for

all students in the sample and controlled for by students' intended destinations, whether they withdraw or transfer, a more definite pattern developed. The number of years of grade retardation for each grade in school in every case but one, was consistently higher for students who withdraw from school than those who transfer (see Table 6).

Table 6 - Rates of Grade Retardation for all Students in Sample by Students' Intended Destinations

Grade Level	Transfer	Withdraw
Preschool	1.3 yrs. (23)	1.5 yrs. (4)
Grade 1	1.7 (47)	2.3 (10)
Grade 2	2.1 (53)	3.3 (4)
Grade 3	2.4 (50)	5.3 (10)
Grade 4	2.8 (51)	4.8 (14)
Grade 5	2.6 (52)	4.8 (29)
Grade 6	2.8 (139)	4.0 (39)
Grade 7	3.4 (37)	3.9 (79)
Grade 8	2.5 (53)	3.2 (65)
Grade 9	2.3 (52)	2.9 (53)
Grade 10	2.7 (13)	2.8 (19)
Grade 11	2.6 (6)	2.0 (4)
Grade 12	2.3 (4)	2.7 (12)
Average	2.4 (580)	2.7 (351)

Sample Size - 931
Missing Observations - 195

By the second grade, the differences between years of grade retardation between students who withdraw rather than transfer was 1.2 years, grade 3 - 2.9 years, grade 4 - 2.0 years, grade 5 - 2.2 years, grade 6 - 1.2 years. For the remaining grades the difference was less than one year. The average number of years of grade retardation over the thirteen year time span was 2.4 years for students who transfer and 3.4 years for those who withdraw. Therefore, students who withdraw have been less successful at keeping up with the one-grade-per-year standard than those students who transfer. Or within this sample, students who transfer consistently do better in school than do students who withdraw, if years of grade retardation can be used as measures of being able to cope, or not being able to cope with school.

Lived at Home or Away from Home

When students' intended destination -- to transfer, or withdraw -- were considered in light of whether the student lived at home, or away from home while attending school some influence was apparent (see Table 7). Sixty-three point seven percent of students living at home transferred to another school, while 36.3 percent withdrew. Fifty-five point three percent of the students who did not live at home transferred and 44.7 percent withdrew. Thus, 27.4 percent more students who lived at home while attending school transferred than withdrew while only 10.6 percent more of the students not living at home transferred than withdrew. One might then infer from the above that a significant greater number of students living at home while attending school transfer than withdraw, while for those not living at home, the difference between

those transferring and those withdrawing is not as marked.

Table 7 - Student's Destination by Whether or Not Student Lived at Home While Attending School

Intended Destination	Live at Home	Live Away
Transfer	63.7% (554)	55.3% (131)
Withdraw	36.3 (316)	44.7 (106)
Total	100.0 (870)	100.0 (237)

Sample Size - 1,107
Missing Observations - 19

Although living at home does apparently influence a student's decision to transfer or to withdraw, one needs to remember that of the total sample of 1,107, 78.6 percent of the students lived at home while attending school. Therefore, students who live away from home while attending school make up a relatively small proportion of the total population in the sample, and the withdrawal forms do not provide enough information so that this particular group could be examined, especially in terms of the reasons why the student is living away from home. The circumstances that determine whether a child will live at home or away from home would greatly affect the child's behaviour. Thus to simply suggest from the limited data available that living away from home while attending school is a major influence on the child's decision to leave school is a bit premature. In fact, from the limited data one can only suggest that the circumstances that cause a child to live away from home while attending school, plus the actual fact of living away from home, are different problems that merit more detailed research than can be done within the limitations of this study.

In summary, age, grade retardation, and the gender of the student appear to have some influence on whether a native student in the Northwest Territories transfers to another school or withdraws from school. Living away from home may also have some bearing on the decision. Surprisingly, ethnic status does not appear significant; therefore, the variables that affect a student's choice as to whether to transfer or withdraw, appear to affect both Inuit and Indian students similarly.

Types of Withdrawals as Reflected by Students' Intended Destinations

Seventeen possible destinations are itemized on the withdrawal forms (see Table 1). As was previously discussed, whether the destination given on a withdrawal form is the actual destination can be questioned. Therefore, the author refers to the destinations as the "intended destination". Whether the student has actually said what he or she intends to do, or whether a teacher, principal, or fellow classmate has indicated what a particular student who has withdrawn intends to do cannot be differentiated within the limitations of this study. The only method by which actual destinations could be determined would be through a follow-up study of some type. Thus, the concern at this point is to attempt to identify the destinations of native students who withdrew, and to differentiate their intended destinations in view of the four major levels of the northern economic base. Therefore, the remainder of the analysis will focus on the following four destinations: employment, marriage and/or domestic duties (for girls only), out of work, and other. The category of "other" initially may appear to be somewhat problematic;

however, as the forms allow principals to add some comments, from an analysis of the comments on the forms that make up the sample, the category of "other" becomes more clear.

Variables that Influence a Native Student's Choice of Intended Destination

The previous discussion showed that from the collected sample 61.9 percent of the students gave their intended destination as another school, (see Table 1) while 38.1 percent intended to actually withdraw from school. Of the students intending to withdraw 0.4 percent did so in order to go to " a corrective institution", 0.4 percent because of "illness or disabilities", while 1.0 percent of the students in the sample "died". Thus the remaining 36.3 percent are Inuit and Indian students who give their intended destinations as one of the four previously identified categories. Although the referred to table differentiates between the destinations "marriage (girls only)" and "helping at home -- domestic duties (girls only)", in the following analysis the two categories were combined as the category of "marriage" accounted for only a small proportion of the frequencies. Also, since the two categories were both specified as "girls only", it was felt that collapsing the categories would not greatly distort the analysis.

Gender and ethnic status significantly influence a native student's choice of intended destination. "Marriage, helping at home, and domestic duties" is a destination limited to "girls only". Accordingly this category is the intended destination for 58.6 percent Inuit women, and 41.0 percent Indian women. Within this sample 17.6 percent more Inuit women than Indian women withdraw from school either to get married

or help at home (see Table 8).

Table 8 - Percentage Distribution of Intended Destinations by Ethnic Status and Gender

Intended Destinations	Inuit Males	Inuit Females	Indian Males	Indian Females
To employment	37.4% (52)	15.7% (22)	19.7% (12)	9.8% (6)*
Marriage and domestic help (girls only)		58.6 (82)		41.0 (25)
Out of work	14.4 (20)	5.0 (7)*	16.4 (10)	6.6 (4)*
Other	48.2 (67)	20.7 (29)	63.9 (39)	42.6 (26)
Total	100.0 (139)	100.0 (140)	100.0 (61)	100.0 (61)

* When the number of cases in cell total less than ten, the accuracy of percentages is questionable.
Sample Size - 401
Missing Observations - 19

Of the Inuit women in the sample 15.7 percent choose to go directly to employment, 5.0 percent indicate they will be unemployed while 20.7 percent fall in the category of "other". On the other hand, 37.4 percent of the Inuit men indicate they intend to go directly to employment which is 21.7 percent more than the figure for Inuit women, 14.4 percent Inuit men intend to be out of work which is 9.4 percent more than the women, 48.2 percent of the men are included in the category of "other", or 27.5 percent more Inuit men specify an intended destination that is classified as "other" when they withdrew from school.

Nine point eight percent of the Indian women in the sample intend to go directly to employment, as do 19.7 percent of Indian men. Thus, 9.9 percent more male than female Indians in this sample intend to go directly to work. Six point six percent of the Indian women state

that they intend to be unemployed, as do 16.4 percent of Indian males, or in other words, 9.8 percent more Indian males give their intended destination as "out of work". Finally, of the Indian women in the sample, 42.6 percent expressed intentions that were categorized as "other" which is 21.3 percent less than that recorded for Indian males.

Of the women in the sample, 53.2 percent gave their intended destination when they withdraw from school as either getting married, helping at home, or doing domestic work. The high percentage of young, native women who drop out of school to persue these careers is to be expected. The range of unskilled and semi-skilled occupations available to women in the North is far more narrow than that available to men. The fact that relatively fewer women intend to seek employment when they withdraw from school may simply reflect the limited number of occupations available to these women. Furthermore, the traditional concept of "the role of a woman" which is slowly changing in southern Canadian society, may still be more widely accepted in the northern communities.

In the sample 5.9 percent more Inuit women intend to go "to employment" than do Indian women, and 17.6 percent more say she will "get married, or stay at home, or do domestic work". However, 21.9 percent more Indian women gave their intended destination as "other", and 1.6 percent more Indian women gave their intended destination as "out of work".

More Inuit men in the sample, 17.7 percent, intend to go "to employment" than do Indian men, while 2.0 percent more Indian men give their intended destination as "out of work". Furthermore, 15.7

percent more Indian men indicate their destination at the time of withdrawing from school as "other".

Therefore, the intended destination of school leavers in this sample appears to be influenced by the student's gender, as well as the student's ethnic status. The direct influence of a student's gender is obvious in light of the still well-defined male and female roles in most of northern society; however, the differences due to ethnic status are more problematic. The answer may lie in the rather nebulous category "other"; once this category becomes more specific, then the source of the differences that appear to be caused by a student's ethnicity may become clarified.

Age of the Student at the Time of Withdrawal

As we have seen the student's age at the time of completing the form appears to affect his decision to either withdraw or transfer. Furthermore, age also appears significant when considered in light of the intended destination at the time of withdrawal (see Table 9).

Of the students "12 years and less", 75.6 percent have a destination recorded as "other". One student of this age group intends to go directly to work, and nine girls intend to get married and/or be domestic help.

More than half of the students who withdraw fall within the "13-16 years" age group. Twenty-one point five percent of the students in the "13-16 years" age group intend to go "to employment", as compared to 32.5 percent in the "17 years+" group; 26.3 percent of the girls in the "13-16 years" group intend to get married and/or stay at home, as

Table 9 - Intended Destinations by Age of Students at the Time of Withdrawal

Intended Destinations	17 yrs.+	13-16 yrs.	12 yrs. & less
To employment	32.4% (45)	21.5% (45)	2.4% (1)
Marriage and domestic help (girls only)	30.9 (43)	26.3 (55)	22.0 (9)
Out of work	5.8 (8)	13.9 (29)	
Other	30.9 (43)	38.3 (80)	75.6 (31)
Total	100.0 (139)	100.0 (209)	100.0 (41)

Sample Size - 389
Missing Observations - 31

did 30.0 percent in the "17 years+" group. Thirteen point nine percent of the "13-16 years"group intend to be "out of work" and 38.3 percent give their destination as "other". Those figures compare to 5.8 percent and 30.9 percent respectively in the "17 years+" group. Ten point nine percent more students in the "17 years+" group give their intended destination as employment than students in the "13-16 years" age group. Furthermore, 4.6 percent more girls in the "17 years+" group choose marriage and/or staying at home than do those in the "13-16 years" group. However, 8.1 percent more girls in the "13-16 years" group indicate that they intend to be out of work, as well as 7.4 percent more give a destination that is categorized as "other".

In summary, the majority of native students who are twelve years of age or less and who withdrew from school went to a destination indicated as "other". Of the students between thirteen and sixteen years of age, the largest group in the sample, some planned to go to employment, and some women to marriage, or being domestic help. In

each case these destinations accounted for a smaller proportion of the 13-16 year olds than for similar destinations given by students in the seventeen years and older group. However, more students of the thirteen to sixteen age group, than of the older group intended to be unemployed, or gave a destination that did not fall within the itemized categories and thus was classified as "other".

Up to this point, the category "other" has been given as the intended destination for a large number of native students withdrawing from school, but what exactly this category includes has not been discussed, nor have specific occupations that the students plan to fill been examined.

Specific Jobs Filled by Native Students Withdrawing from School

On the forms principals are asked to comment when "other" is the intended destination, and to give the specific job when "to employment". The comments on the forms in the sample were examined and categorized. Not all forms had comments. Nor did all comments appear pertinent to this discussion. Many comments specified to what school a student planned to transfer, or simply repeated the destination marked on the form eg. died May 17, 1974, or in the correctional institute in Yellowknife. These were not considered important or pertinent to this study. However, all specific destinations and occupations, as well as comments that appear to clarify "other" were recorded (see Table 10).

Ninety-six students indicated specific jobs they were planning to fill when they withdrew from school.[2] These jobs were then categorized according to the four identifiable levels that exist in the northern

Table 10 - Percentage Distribution of Levels of the Northern Economic Base in Which Early School Leavers are Finding Employment

Government bureaucracy	3.1% (3)
Tertiery level	32.3 (31)
Resource level	17.7 (17)
Subsistence level	46.9 (45)
Total	100.0 (96)

Sample Size - 96
Missing Observations - 0

economic base: government bureaucracy, resource level, tertiery level, and subsistence level (see Chapter 2).

At the time of withdrawal three students indicated that they intended to go to employment in a part of the government bureaucracy. In each case, the student intended to work as a classroom assistant in schools administered by the territorial government. Seventeen point seven percent cited occupations such as making crafts, working in mines or labour that can be directly tied to the mines. Accordingly, these were classified in the resource level of the economic base. The tertiery level consists of jobs that provide services in the settlements. Of the students in this sample 32.3 percent indicate that they will fill jobs of this nature.

Many of the students at the time of withdrawal indicate that they intend to "live off the land" or go to "fishing and hunting camps". From a Euro-Canadian perspective living at the subsistence level does not necessarily indicate employment. This descrepancy, as has been previously discussed, stems directly from the assumptions about the nature of work and the usage of occupational categories by people such

as government civil servants. However, we have already shown that living at the subsistence level of the economic base in the Northwest Territories is a viable and widely accepted livelihood by both Indians and Inuit. From this sample 46.9 percent of the students indicate that they will wholly or partially live at the subsistence level.

Clarification of "Other" as a Student's Given Destination

The other comments that appeared on the forms were of a somewhat different nature as they tended to indicate specific reasons for withdrawal such as being pregnant or a severe discipline problem as well as revealing some attitudes toward school[3] (see Table 11). Of the sixty comments examined, 66.7 percent of them indicated that students were being kept at home by the family, or they did not want to attend school. The comments convey that parent(s) and/or students see little value in acquiring a formal education.[4] The remainder of the comments gave the reasons for withdrawal as pregnancies for 20.0 percent and discipline problems for the remaining 13.3 percent.

Two trends appear to dominate the comments made on the withdrawal forms, both of which are pertinent to a discussion of early school leaving in the Northwest Territories. Firstly, a significant proportion of students who withdrew from school, and whose intended destination was indicated to be "other" are actually withdrawing from school and leaving settlement life to live at the subsistence level or to follow the traditional way of life, living on the land. Secondly, several students who withdrew from school did so because a formal education based on the southern Euro-Canadian model did not appear to meet their needs or demands.

Table 11 - Percentage Distribution of Some Specific Reasons Non-Job Related for Withdrawing from School

Kept at home and/or did not want to attend	66.7% (40)
Pregnant	20.0 (12)
Discipline problem - sent home	13.3 (8)
Total	100.0 (60)

Sample Size - 60

Within this study ethnic status does not appear to be a very significant determinative as to whether a student transferred or withdrew from school. Ethnic status, however, does appear to have some influence when a student indicates a destination (see Table 8). More Indian than Inuit students who withdrew from school gave an intended destination under the heading "other". The above analysis of the comments on the withdrawal forms suggests that a large proportion of these students would be opting for "living on the land", or rejecting the type of formal education being offered in the settlement schools. Furthermore, more Indian than Inuit students within this sample appear to be following this pattern.

The explanation of this phenomenon does not lie in a discussion of variation due to a student's ethnicity, but rather in an examination of the varying levels of economic and social development, and the degree and nature of contact with the metropolis within the individual northern communities. Contact with Euro-Canadian society has focused on several communities throughout the North. Up until recently, most development and growth have occurred in the southern parts of the territories, and along the Mackenzie Valley. Traditionally, Indian communities have occupied the geographic areas that have been the centers of Euro-

Canadian development, while Inuit communities, especially in the Eastern Arctic, have remained isolated.

From the limited data available from the withdrawal forms, and working on the assumption that this sample is not a representative sample, one can only speculate and make some recommendations for further research.

The most marked differences between Inuit and Indian students in this study have to do with their intended destinations following school withdrawal. Logically, the source of some of these differences might be found in the communities in which these students live. An Indian student who lives in Yellowknife or Hay River would have very different opportunities and generally, a different world view than an Inuit student in Coral Harbour. As the educational system of the Northwest Territories is an adopted system whose roots are found in the educational systems of southern Canada, and the majority of the teachers and administrators are Euro-Canadians, success in school would appear to require a relatively high degree of assimilation into the Euro-Canadian value system and acceptance of the basic ideologies, conditions which would occur most readily in communities and towns where contact with Euro-Canadians and Euro-Canadian life style is the greatest. Consequently, further research needs to examine destinations of students graduating and withdrawing from schools in reference to their home communities -- levels of development and isolation -- as only then can a phenomenon such as large numbers of Indian students opting for life on the land be adequately explained.

Conclusion

Intended destinations given by Inuit and Indian students at the time of withdrawal from school would support the hypothesis that two types of native early school leavers can, in fact, be differentiated. A significant number of students are opting for the traditional way of life. These students, from the Euro-Canadian educators' and administrators' perspective, are "failures", and as socially problematic as those students who opt for life as unskilled workers or as unemployed recipients of welfare. Lack of academic success and disillusionment with formal education appear to be major influences when a student becomes an early school leavers. However, as suggested in the theoretical framework, students who withdraw from school in order to follow an existence at the subsistence level are choosing a viable alternative in northern society, and the act of leaving school for these individuals does not necessarily limit their life chances.

FOOTNOTES

1. Not all schools in the Northwest Territories offer the complete range of grades from kindergarten to grade twelve. The table below simply lists the number of schools that offer a particular range of grades. The information for the table was obtained in Yellowknife from the Department of Education, August, 1976 and Canada North Almanac, Vol. 1, May, 1975.

Table 1 - Number of Schools in the Northwest Territories that Offer Particular Grades

Grades Offered	Number of Schools*
K - 3	3
K - 6	12
K - 7	1
K - 8	15
K - 9	26
K -10	2
4 - 7	1
6 -10	1
7 -12	4
8 -12	1
9 -12	1
Total	67

* The number of communities in the Northwest Territories does not directly correspond to the number of schools, as some of the larger towns have more than one school, while others that are extremely small, may not even have one.

2. The following is a more detailed breakdown of the comments made on the withdrawal forms:

Government Bureaucracy - classroom assistant

Resource Level
- workers at co-op - making crafts for export
- mines
- labour that can be directly tied to mines

Tertiery Level
- clerks - Hudson Bay, co-op stock boy
- labour in settlements
- janitorial, housekeeping
- labour at airlines
- construction - labour
- babysitting
- driving taxi
- casual worker/labourer
- librarian assistant
- employee in coffee shop
- water & garbage disposal crew

Subsistence Level
- live on the land
- fishing, hunting camps

3. Other specified reasons for withdrawal are the following:
Kept at home and/or did not want to come --
- parents think school is useless
- taken home by parents
- not allowed to attend
- refuses to come to school
- unable to adjust
- not able to cope
- needed at home by parent(s)
- did not like school
- virtually a non-attender
- did not return from home after holidays
- homesick

4. Although it is not said in as many words, one may interpret many of the comments under "kept at home" as choosing to live at the subsistence level of the economy.

CHAPTER FIVE

Analysis and Conclusion

The focus of this research has been school progress and school retention of Inuit and Indian students in the Northwest Territories during the school years 1966 to 1976.

In Chapter 1 census data from 1931 was compared to data gathered in 1971. The comparison and contrast of "urban and rural group sizes", "distribution of age groups", "official languages spoken", and "major occupation groups" brought to focus the massive social change that has occured in the Northwest Territories over a forty year time span.

The history of education and the school was examined in the concluding section of the first chapter. Census figures from 1931 and 1971 again provided data such as "population attending school in 1931", "literacy rates", and "levels of education for those not attending school, 1971". Furthermore, selected excerpts from the history of education led us to suggest that while education as a formal institution has been established in the North, the system was primarily adopted from the South rather than custom-created for northern conditions. Many northern people appear to be dissatisfied with this system of education, and it is often perceived as alienating and irrelevant to the more real or perceived life goals. Many educators in the Northwest Territories, as well as other authorities generally knowledgeable of the North, observe that large numbers of native students are early school leavers and interpret the act of early school leaving as an indicator of dissatisfaction with the school system.

Chapter 2 examined the literature on "dropouts" that focus on the traditional explanations of early school leaving. These explanations were said to be unsatisfactory as in such "models" socio-economic status was often cited as the main variable used. It was suggested that no single index can be assumed to adequately explain northern phenomenon.

Literature providing explanations for the observed phenomenon that minority groups appear to be unable to achieve at the same levels as groups in the mainstream of society was then examined. These explanations were classified as (1) cultural and (2) structural. The author attempted to prove that the most satisfactory explanation of native early school leaving in the North was that employing a structural explanation.

The author then developed and expanded one view of a structural model, and postulated that an individual exits within a society at several levels simultaneously: adjustments or modifications at one level would be expected to affect his total existence. The analysis proceeded with two focal points: the External Conditions of Social Existence, (commonly termed "macro" in perspective) and the Internal Conditions of Social Existence, (the "micro"). It was suggested that these two levels influence each other and form a dialectic relationship. The theoretical model was advanced, hopefully in adequate detail, and then used to analyze the general situation of the indigenous peoples in the Northwest Territories, with special observation made of relevent educational phenomenon.

Chapter 3 analyzed secondary data gathered from Inuit and

Indian student information files made available by the Department of Education in Yellowknife. The data was gathered in two groups -- Cohort A, all Inuit and Indian students who started school in 1966 (281) and Cohort B, all native students who started school in 1971 (655). After school progess and early school leaving rates were compared, it was found that students in Cohort B dropped out at a higher rate during the first five years of school than in Cohort A. Furthermore, none of the available variables appeared significant for Cohort A while "age when started school", "ethnic status", "number of times they changed schools", or "whether they attended kindergarten" appeared to affect the rate of early school leaving for Cohort B.

When years 6-10+ were examined for Cohort A beyond noting the accelerated rate of early school leaving, variables such as "age when started school", "ethnic status", "number of times students changed schools" and "whether students lived at home while attending school" all appeared statistically significant. However, as is later suggested, the author prefers to view this "significance" as correlative rather than causal.

Chapter 4 examined data gathered from student withdrawal forms made available by Statistics Canada. From the analysis at least preliminary indications of why students left school and their intended destinations could be determined. The results indicated that two types of early school leavers in the North do, in fact, exist: those who opt for life in the larger settlement in accordance to the values and ideologies of the dominant metropolis, and those who return to the traditional way of life. Furthermore, variables similar to those in

Chapter 3 were examined to determine if they appeared to influence the student's choice of whether to "dropout" or continue his education.

In summation, it appeared from the data analysis of Chapters 3 and 4 that a large percentage of Inuit and Indian students in the Northwest Territories were early school leavers. However, a significant number of these students appeared to have opted for the traditional way of life. As suggested in the theoretical framework, many students who withdraw from school in order to follow an existence at the subsistence level or choose a viable alternative in northern society are, in fact, not "failures" as they may appear to be from the perspective of Euro-Canadian educators and administrators. The observation, stated so tersely, was perhaps the most powerful insight gathered by the author in integrating the many observations made throughout.

Many questions have been left unanswered. However, as was stated previously the author did not initially attempt to provide causal explanations. A more candid view of this research would emphasize its exploratory nature and as such hopefully further research will develop.

Secondary data in this analysis provided a wealth of information. Hopefully, as the Department of Education in Yellowknife expands more emphasis will be placed on qualitative record keeping. If "education" is indeed as important as officials would lead us to believe, accurate and detailed records of those who are "being educated" should be of primary importance. Such records could provide a more reliable data base of value to more experimentally designed research, but even more importantly would enable educational authorities in the

North to monitor the quality of educational service.

Hopefully, in the future funds will be generated to permit a follow-up study of Inuit and Indian students who are early school leavers and those who remain in school. Research in the Northwest Territories is at best costly and problematic, particulary if information is obtained by process of interviewing a representative sample of native students throughout the North. However, research of this nature would appear to remain the primary method through which many of the questions brought forth by this study will be answered.

The author's final aspiration would be that further studies of school progress and early school leaving of native students in the Northwest Territories would be stimulated by the preliminary observations of this study. Perhaps the suggestions made throughout this study but stated even more succinctly by John Ogbu will become a basic consideration of any future research.

> Researchers must continually distinguish their role as social scientists from their role as social reformers. So far not many have been able to do so, especially in the last couple of decades. Many social scientists want black and other subordinate groups to do as well in school as middle-class white people do. This goal is commendable. But in their eagerness to bring about change, they often design their studies not so much to understand the total situation as to discover what is wrong and how the situation should be changed. I believe this approach leads to the wrong kinds of questions, the wrong kinds of answers, and the wrong kinds of solutions. (Ogbu, 1977: 16)

Ogbu's statement is rather significant in light of the discussions that have been persued throughout this thesis. Evidence has been given that living at the subsistence level of society in the Northwest Territories is a viable and even desirable option for young Inuit and

Indian students. "Competences" which Ogbu describes as...

> ...the ability to attain and perform valued roles in society...(Ogbu, 1977: 6)

for life at the subsistence level cannot necessarily be acquired through formal schooling. Few would debate the contention that "formal" schooling in Canadian society socializes middleclass youngsters to develop competences that will enable them to survive in society. The socialization process in the home and school ensures those youngsters' success and that they will take their appropriate place in society. Further the External Conditions of Social Existence ensure that those of the minorities continue to take their respective place in the social hierarchy.

But as Ogbu stresses, the assumptions in the past have been that these minorities -- the poor, the culturally different, the racially different -- have "failed" for a variety of reasons (see Chapter 2). However, these assumptions do not consider the alternative position that the minorities have been successfully socialized by their families to have competences that enable them to survive and thrive in their segment of society as well as in their appropriate positions in the whole of society.

In the case of the Northwest Territories, youngsters who have acquired the competences to survive at the subsistence economic level of society may in fact leave school as underlying the socialization in the school is the belief that competences such as cognitive, language and motivational acuteness is of prime importance. For many of the land/based people such an emphasis may simply appear meaningless or a "waste if time". Leaving school or "dropping out" may simply be an

affirmative action taken by a youngster who recognizes that the school may not be the best place to acquire the competences necessary for survival on the land. However, with the move by Euro-Canadians to continue the further development of the North, the question arises of how long existence at the subsistence level will be possible with the continuous expansion of the pipelines and mines to meet Canadian needs?

In southern Canada adult retraining has been used as a panacea for many social problems. The belief that an individual can readily return to school with government financial support to "better" themselves or to "retool" their skills is widespread. Unfortunately, the number of people who actually progress upward within the social hierarchy after upgrading is relatively few. Adult retraining and vocational training has been in the North for many years, but on a relatively small scale.

Throughout this thesis the author has examined the rate of early school leaving and school progress of Inuit and Indian students in the Northwest Territories. The research revealed that large numbers are early school leavers -- many who chose to live on the land, others who chose unskilled labour in the settlements. It would appear from the evidence gathered that many of these young people may eventually become candidates for adult upgrading or retraining if the situation occurs that living on the land, or unskilled occupations become more difficult to find, Hopefully, if adult retraining becomes the main thrust in the North, educators will learn from previous mistakes.

As has been continually pointed out throughout this thesis, conditions in society affect the individual in many ways, and thus to

accuse the schools for not "doing their job" is rather simplistic. Hopefully, the Department of Education will begin to deal positively with the massive social change occuring in the North and will attempt to prepare for future needs. If the shift is indeed toward large numbers of Inuit and Indian people in the North demanding adult retraining, northern educators have the opportunity to open up a totally new frontier.

The concept of a "competences based curriculum" has been discussed for years in the field of adult retraining; however, the author is not aware of a system that has yet been successful in putting the theory into practice. The North is unique in its educational needs. In the future the North may well become the initiator of a truly competences based curriculum.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Babbie, Earl R. The Practice of Social Research. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co. Ltd., 1975.

Blalock, Jr., Hubert M. Social Statistics. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1972.

Campbell, Marie. Halfbreed. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1974.

Carlton, Richard A.; Colley, Louise A.; and MacKinnon, Neil J. eds. Education, Change, and Society: A Sociology of Canadian Education. Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing Ltd., 1977.

Carnoy, Martin. Education as Cultural Imperialism. New York: David McKay Co. Ltd., 1974.

Carver, Vida and Rodda, Michael. Disability and the Environment. Southampton: The Camelot Press Ltd., 1978.

Cave, William M. and Chesler, Mark A. Sociology of Education: An Anthology of Issues and Problems. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co. Ltd., 1974.

Cervantes, Lucius F. The Dropout -- Causes and Cures. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1963.

Clement, Wallace. The Canadian Corporate Elite: An Analysis of Economic Power. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1975.

Cole, Stephen. The Sociological Method. Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Co., 1976.

Cook, Ramsay; Brown, Craig; and Berger, Carl, eds. Approaches to Canadian History. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1970.

Covington, Martin V. and Beery, Richard G. Self-Worth and School Learning. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976.

Coulson, Margaret A. and Riddell, Carol. Approaching Sociology: A Critical Introducation. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970.

Crowe, Keith J. A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1974.

Curtis, James E. and Scott, William G., eds. Social Stratification: Canada. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1973.

Davies, Brian. Social Control and Education. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1976.

Dosman, Edgar J. Indians: The Urban Dilemma. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972.

Elliot, Jean, ed. Minority Canadians I Natives Peoples. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1971.

_____. Two Nations, Many Cultures, Ethnic Groups in Canada. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1979.

Ferguson, George A. Statistical Analysis in Psychology and Education. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1976.

Forcese, Dennis. The Canadian Class Structure. Toronto: Ryerson, 1975.

Forcese, Dennis and Richer, Stephen, eds. Issues in Canadian Society: An Introduction to Sociology. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1975.

Frideres, James S. Canada's Indians Contemporary Conflict. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1974.

Freire, Paulo. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Cambridge: Center for the Study of Education and Development, 1973.

Gordon, Milton M. Assimilation in American Life. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Harp, John and Hofley, John R. Poverty in Canada. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1971.

Hughes, David R. and Kallen, Evelyn. The Anatomy of Racism: Canadian Dimensions. Montreal: Harvest House, 1974.

Jenness, Diamond. The People of the Twilight. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959.

Kagan, Jerome and Coles, Robert eds. Twelve to Sixteen: Early Adolescence. New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1972.

Karabel, Jerome and Halsey, A.H., eds. Power and Ideology in Education. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Laxer, Robert M., ed. (Canada) Ltd. The Political Economy of Dependency. Toronto: McCelland and Stewart Ltd., 1973.

Loken, Joel O. Student Alienation and Dissent. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1973.

Mayer, Kurt B. and Buckley, Walter. Class and Society. New York: Random House Inc., 1955.

Memmi, Albert. The Colonizer and the Colonized. Boston: Beacon Press, 1965.

_____. Dominated Man. Boston: Beacon Press, 1968.

Modiano, Nancy. Indian Education in Chiapas Highlands. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., 1973.

Mowat, Farley. Canada North Now, The Great Betrayal. Toronto: McCelland and Stewart Ltd., 1976.

_____. The Desperate People. Toronto: McCelland and Stewart Ltd., 1976.

_____. The People of the Deer. Toronto: McCelland and Stewart Ltd., 1975.

Nagler, Mark, ed. Perspectives on the North American Indians. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1972.

Nemenyi, Peter; Dixon, Syliva K.; White Jr., Nathaniel B.; Hedstrom, Margaret L. Statistics from Scratch. San Franciso: Holden-Day, Inc., 1977.

Newman, William M. American Pluralism: A Study of Minority Groups and Social Theory. New York: Harper and Row Publishers Inc., 1973.

Ossenberg, Richard J., ed. Canadian Society: Pluralism, Change and Conflict. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1971.

Porter, John. The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada. Toronto: Unviersity of Toronto Press, 1965.

Renaud, Andre. Education and the First Canadians. Toronto: Gage Publishing Ltd., 1971.

Richardson, Ken and Spears, David, eds. Race and Intelligence: The Fallacies Behind the Race -- I.Q. Controversy. Baltimore: Penguin Book Inc., 1972.

Rocher, Guy. A General Introduction to Sociology: A Theoretical Perspective. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada, 1972.

Rutter, Michael and Madge, Nicola. Cycles of Disadvantage. London: Heineman Educational Books Ltd., 1977.

Schreiber, Daniel, ed. Guidance and the School Dropout. Project: School Dropouts, Washington: National Education Association, 1964.

Selltiz, Claire; Johoda, Marie; Deutsch, Morton; and Cook, Stuart W. Research Methods in Social Relations. New York; Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1959.

Silvey, Honathan. Deciphering Data. London: Longman Group Ltd., 1975.

Schermerhorn, R.A. Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Research. New York: Randomn House, 1970.

Thrasher, Anthony Apakark. Thrasher Skid Row Eskimo. Toronto: Griffin House, 1976.

Valentine, Charles A. Culture and Poverty Critique and Counter-Proposals. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Valentine, Victor F. and Vallee,Frank G. Eskimos of the Canadian Arctic. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1968.

Vallee, F.G. Kabloona and Eskimo. Ottawa: Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1967.

Wallace, Anthony F.C. Culture and Personality. New York: Random House Inc., 1970.

Watkins, Mel. Dene Nation -- The Colony Within. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.

Wax, Murray L.; Diamond, Stanley; Gearing, Fred O., eds. Anthropological Perspectives on Education. New York: Basic Books Inc., 1971.

Wolcott, Harry F. A Kwakiutl Village and School. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1967.

Young, Michael, ed. Knowledge and Control: New Directions for Sociology of Education. London: Cassell & Collier MacMillan Publishers Ltd., 1971.

Zentner, Henry. The Indian Identity Crisis. Calgary: Strayer Publications, Ltd., 1973.

Articles in Journals

Abu-Laban, Baha. "The Impact of Ethnicity and Occupational Background on the Aspiration of Canadian Youth." Sociological Inquiry Vol. 36, No. 1 (Winter 1966): 36-45.

_____. "In-Group Orientation and Self-Conceptions of Indian and Non-Indian Students in an Integrated School." Alberta Journal of Educational Research, Vol. 11, No. 3 (September, 1965): 21-38.

Adams, Howard. "The Cree as a Colonial People." Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Special Issue: Cree Studies): 120-24.

Baratz, Stephen and Joan C. Boratz. "Early Childhood Intervention: The Social Science Base of Instiutional Racism." Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 40 (1): 29-49.

Bhattacharya, N.C. "Education in the Northwest Territories." The Alberta Journal of Educational Research, Vol. XIX, No. 3 (September, 1973): 242-54.

Bowd, A.D. "Some Determinants of School Achievement in Several Indian Groups." The Alberta Journal of Educational Research, Vol. XVIII, No. 2 (June, 1972): 69-76.

Fisher, A.D. "The Dialectic of Indian Life in Canada." The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 13(4)(1976): 457-64.

_____. "Education and Social Progress." The Alberta Journal of Educational Research, Vol. XII, No. 3 (December, 1969): 257-67.

Havighurst, Robert J. "Education Among American Indians: Individual and Cultural Aspects." The Annuals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 311 (May, 1957): 73-84.

Hobart and C.S. Brant. "Eskimo Education, Danish and Canadian: A Comparison." The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, Vol. 3 (May, 1966): 47-66.

Kleinfeld, Judith S. "Positive Sterotyping -- the Cultural Relativisit in the Classroom." Human Organization, Vol. 34 (Fall, 1975): 269-74.

_____. "Regionalism in Indian Community Control." Journal of American Indian Education, (May, 1972): 70-4.

Linklater, Clive. "The World As It Was, The World As It Is, The World As We Want It To Be." n.d.c. (1975).

MacArthur, R.S. "Assessing Intellectual Potential of Native Canadian Pupils: A Summary." The Alberta Journal of Educational Research, Vol. XIV, No. 2 (June, 1968): 39-47.

Ogbu, John U. "Social Stratification and the Socialization of Competence." Anthropology and Education Quarterly, Vol. X, Number 1: 3-20.

Price, John A. "An Ethnographic Approach to U.S. and Canadian Indian Education." Canadian and International Education, 3,2 (December, 1974): 99-115.

Racier, Gordon J. "Case Studies of High School Dropouts." The Alberta Journal of Educational Research, Vol. IX, No. 1 (March, 1963): 13-21.

Rousseliere, Guy Mary. "I Live with the Eskimos." National Geographic, Vol. 139, No. 2 (February, 1971): 188-217.

Sindell, Peter S. "Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Education." Review of Educational Research, 39(5): 593-605.

Stanbury, W.T. "Comparison of On-and-Off Reserve Educational Achievements." Journal of American Indian Education, Vol. 12, No. 3 (1973): 24-33.

Young, Jonathan C. "Education in a Multicultural Society: What Sort of Education? What Sort of Society?" Canadian Journal of Education, Vol. 4, Number 3 (1979): 5-21.

Component Parts

Deutsch, Martin. "The Disadvantaged Child and the Learning Process." In Education in Depressed Areas, 83-98. Edited by H.A. Passow. New York: Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1963.

Dumont, Robert Jr. and Murray L. Wax. "Cherokee School Society and the Intercultural Classroom." In School and Society, Chapter 2. Edited by G.M. Esland and D.F. Swift. London: Routedge and Kegan Paul, 1971.

Henry, Jules. "Is Education Possible?" In Education and Social Policy: Local Control of Education, Chapter 11. Edited by C.A. Bowers, Ian Housego and Doris Dyke. New York: Random House, 1970.

Jacob, Evelyn and Peggy Reeves Sanday. "Dropping Out: A Strategy for Coping with Cultural Pluralism." In Anthropology and the Public Interest: Fieldwork and Theory, 95-110. Edited by Peggy Reeves Sanday. New York: Academic Press, 1976.

Published Reports

Berger, Thomas R. Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland. Ottawa: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry: Volume One, (1977).

Carney, Ewaiuk, Swift. Report of the Northland School Division Study Group. Edmonton: Government of Alberta,(1975).

_____. Educational Process and Social Change in a Specialized Environment Milieu. Edmonton: Boreal Institute, (1968).

Federation of Saskatchewan Indians. Indian Education in Saskatchewan: Volume One, Two, and Three. Saskatoon: Saskatchewan Cultural College, (1973).

Hawthorn, H.B., ed. A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: Volume One and Two. Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, (1967).

Honigmann, John and Inma. Working Paper No. 4, Urbanization in the Arctic and Subarctic, "Success in School: Adaption in a New, Canadian Arctic Town." Edmonton: Boreal Institute, (1969).

Jenness, Diamond. Eskimo Administration: II Canada Arctic Institute of North America. Technical Paper No. 14. Ottawa: _____, (1972).

Low, H.R. Report to the Northwest Territories Council on Northern Education. Ottawa: _____, (1951).

Moore, Andrew. Report of an Educational Survey Conducted in the Mackenzie District of the Canadian Northwestern Territories during the Months July and August, 1944. Ottawa: Northwest Territories Administration, Department of Mines and Resources, 1944.

McBeath, A.G. Education in the North. Ottawa: Northern Regional Committee Indian Eskimo Association of Canada, (1965).

Research Institute of Northern Canada. Canadian North Almanac. Yellowknife: _____,(1975).

Smith, Derek G. Natives and Outsiders: Pluralism in the Mackenzie River Delta, Northwest Territories. Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, (1975).

_____. Survey of Education, Northwest Territories. Yellowknife Department of Education, (1972).

Theses and Other Papers

Assheton-Smith, Marilyn I. "The Metis of Alberta Society Revisited: Dr. Card in the Sixties." Unpublished paper, University of Alberta, 1980.

Assheton-Smith, Marilyn I. "The Socialization of In-Migrant Whites in Canadian Native Communities." Unpublished paper, University of Alberta, 1972.

Barrados, Maria. "An Evaluation of Research on Early School Leaving in the Northwest Territories: A Theoretical and Literature Review with Research Recommendations." Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Ottawa, 1976.

Born, David Omar. "Eskimo Education and the Trauma of Social Change." Northern Science Research Group, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1970.

Carney, Robert J. "Relations in Education Between the Federal and Territorial Governments and the Roman Catholic Church in the Mackenzie District, Northwest Territories, 1867 - 1961." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1971.

Daniels, E.R. "The Legal Context of Indian Education in Canada." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1973.

Dayton, Sylvia. "Ideology of Native Education Policy." M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1976.

Ellis, E.A. and Pierre J. Stang. "The Grade Age Progress Project: A Study of Four Reserves in the Georgian Bay District for the Years 1965-66 to 1969-70." Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1970.

Goucher, A.C. "The Dropout Problem Among Indian and Metis Students." Dome Petroleum, Calgary, Alberta, 1967.

Gillespies, Susan. "Two Approaches to Inuit Education in Northern Canada." Honor' Thesis, Carleton University, 1975.

Hatt, Fred K. "Social Science and the Metis: Recent Perspective." Presented to the 13th. Session of the Western Association of Sociologists and Antropologists, Calgary, Alberta, 1971.

Hodgson, Charles F. "A Critical and Interpretive Analysis of the Socialization Process of Canadian Indians: with Specific Reference to Canadian Indian Group Identity." Unpublished Paper , University of Alberta, _____.

Klobus, Patricia A., John N. Edwards, and David L. Klemmack. "Comparative Theories of Racial Participation: A Reformulation." Presented to the American Sociological Association Meeting, 1975.

Lee, I.A. "The Citizens Minus in Education." Prepared for the Ontario Teacher's Federation to be presented to the Senate Committee on Poverty, Ottawa, 1969.

Parnell, Ted. "Barriers to Education." Yukon Association of Non-Status Indians, Yukon, 1976.

Renaud, Andre. "Education from Within." Paper presented at the Ontario Conference on Indian Affaris conducted by the Ontario Division of the Indian - Eskimo Association of Canada, London, Ontario, 1964.

Saveland, Walt. "The Future Schooling of Registered Indian Young People Living on Reserve and Crown Land: Applied Demographic Research in Progress." Thesis, Carleton Univesity, 1973.

Toohey, Kelleen. "Discontinuity in Socialization and Native Education." M.Ed. Thesis, 1976.

Urion, Carl. "The Concept of Stigma in Canadian Anthropology and Education." Unpublished paper, University of Alberta, 1979.

Yazzie, Ethelou. "Education Brief Presented at the Berger Hearing, Vol. 156." Yellowknife, 1976.

Unpublished Collection of Readings

Assheton-Smith, Marilyn I. and Fredrick Ulmer, eds., "The Schooling of Native Peoples in Canada: a Social Science Perspective on Contemporary Issues." A Collection of Readings for Educational Foundations 455, 2nd. edition, University of Alberta, 1979.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Examination of Representatives of B Cohort

Method - % of Indigenous Population x $\frac{\text{1971 K-3 Enrolment}}{4}$

then

$$n = \frac{\text{B Cohort Figures}}{\text{Population Figures}}$$

Community	% of Population Indigenous*	1971 Enrolment in Kindergarten	4**	** Frequency Product	B Cohort	Ratio
Artic Bay	88.9	52	13	12	7	.58
Broughton Island	92.4	92	23	21	23	1.10
Cape Dorset	91.6	119	30	27	25	.93
Clyde River	90.9	69	17	15	9	.60
Frobisher Bay	57.9	325	81	47	45	.96
Grise Fiord	90.5	18	5	5	5	1.0
Iglooik	93.5	132	33	31	27	.87
Lake Harbour	94.7	37	9	9	10	1.11
Pangnirtung	89.9	156	39	35	26	.74
Pond Inlet	89.3	71	18	16	11	.69
Port Burwell	93.8	21	5	5	4	.80
Resolute Bay	94.7	40	10	9	8	.89
Cambridge Bay	73.4	132	33	24	29	1.21
Coppermine	89.1	111	28	25	25	1.00
Fort Liard	95.3	46	12	11	16	1.45
Fort Providence	72.3	113	28	20	14	.70
Fort Resolution	35.3	92	23	8	11	1.38
Fort Simpson	48.0	174	44	21	12	.57

Fort Smith	11.9	318	80	10	19	1.90
Gjoa Haven	96.4	45	11	11	8	.73
Hay River	11.1	318	80	9	9	1.00
Holmand Island	95.2	33	8	8	9	1.13
Jean Marie River	95.5	9	2	2	2	1.00
Lac La Martre	86.5	29	7	6	3	.50
Nahanni Butte	95.5	9	2	2	0	.00
Pelly Bay	95.1	33	8	8	10	1.25
Pine Point	4.07	139	35	1	0	0.00
Rae-Edzo***	90.5	180	45	41	19	.46
Snowdrift	93.3	44	11	10	9	.90
Spence Bay	95.2	88	22	21	8	.38
Tungsten	7.7	5	1	0	0	.00
Wrigley	83.3	18	5	4	5	1.25
Yellowknife	9.0	536	134	12	19	1.58
Aklavik	65.2	113	28	18	17	.94
Artic Red River	82.6	10	3	2	3	1.50
Fort Franklin	82.4	75	19	15	16	1.07
Fort Good Hope	76.6	64	16	12	11	.92
Fort McPherson	79.1	115	29	23	13	.57
Fort Norman	64.0	36	9	6	7	1.17
Inuvik	25.3	477	119	30	29	.97
Sachs Harbour	53.6	23	6	3	0	.00
Tuktoyaktuk	90.1	112	31	27	16	.59
Baker Lake	84.8	184	46	39	19	.49
Chesterfield Inlet	85.7	44	11	9	6	.67

Coral Harbour	90.3	78	20	18	17	.94
Eskimo Point	88.1	103	26	23	20	.87
Rankin Inlet	84.5	114	29	25	27	1.08
Repulse Bay	95.9	54	14	13	12	.92
Whale Cove	83.7	45	11	9	7	.78
Totals				758	647	42.14

$$n = \frac{647}{758} = 0.85356 \quad \text{OR} \quad \frac{\text{Total Ratios}}{\text{n of Ratios}} = \frac{42.14}{49} = 0.86$$

* Figures obtained from 1971 - Census NWT Population by Ethnic Group. Similar calculations not available for 1966 Cohort A.

** Round off to the nearest .5 for number of students only. Note school enrolment is divided by 4 in order to obtain an appropriate number of students in one school year.

*** Percentage for Rae only - excludes Edzo.

Appendix B

Table 1 - Cumulative Frequency Distribution of Age in Years when Students Started School for both Cohorts

Age in Years	Cohort A		Cohort B	
	Cumulative Frequency	Per Cent	Cumulative Frequency	Per Cent
5 years	6	2.1	15	2.3
6 years	212	75.3	500	76.6
7 years	251	89.2	608	93.1
8 years	270	96.0	632	96.8
9 years	275	97.8	641	98.2
10 years	279	99.2	645	98.8
11 years	280	99.6	646	99.0
12 years	281	100.0	648	99.3
13 years			650	99.6
16 years			651	99.8
17 years			652	100.0

Cohort A: Mean = 6.402
Std. Dev. = 0.936
Missing Observations = 0

Cohort B: Mean = 6.333
Std. Dev. = 1.117
Missing Observations = 3

Appendix C

Table 1 - Rate of Early School Leaving by Students' Gender for the First Five Years in School for Both Cohorts

Years in School at Time of Leaving	Gender of Students			
	Cohort A		Cohort B	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
1 year	2.7% (4)	2.3% (3)	7.6% (23)	7.1% (21)
2 years	0.7 (1)	0.8 (1)	7.8 (24)	4.0 (12)
3 years	2.7 (4)	3.8 (5)	3.0 (9)	4.7 (14)
4 years	6.8 (10)	4.6 (6)	4.6 (14)	2.4 (7)
Still in School 5+ years	87.1 (128)	88.5 (115)	77.0 (234)	81.8 (243)
Total	100.0 (147)	100.0 (130)	100.0 (304)	100.0 (297)
	Missing Observations = 4		Missing Observations = 54	

Stats for Years 1-5+:

Cohort A

χ^2 = 0.90955, p = 0.9232, Cramer's V = 0.05730
Lambda (asymmetric) = 0.00000 with Var 43 dependent
= 0.00769 with Var 40 dependent

Cohort B

χ^2 = 7.6005, p = 0.1074, Cramer's V = 0.11246
Lambda (asymmetric) = 0.00000 with Var 43 dependent
= 1.04714 with Var 40 dependent

Stats for Years 1-4:

Cohort A

χ^2 = 0.84764, p = 0.8380, Cramer's V = 0.05532

Cohort B

χ^2 = 5.54978, p = 0.1357, Cramer's V = 0.09609
Lambda (asymmetric) = 0.00000 with Var 43 dependent
= 0.02694 with Var 40 dependent

Table 2 - Rate of Early School Leaving, for 6th to 10th Years Only by Students' Gender for Cohort A Only

Years in School at Time of Leaving	Gender of Students: Female	Male
6 years	9.7% (12)	14.8% (16)
7 years	4.0 (5)	4.6 (5)
8 years	7.3 (9)	12.0 (13)
9 years	14.5 (18)	13.0 (14)
Still in School 10+ years	64.5 (80)	55.6 (60)
Total	100.0 (124)	100.0 (108)

Missing Observations = 49

Stats for Years 6-10+:

χ^2 = 3.5694, p = 0.4674, Cramer's V = 0.12404

Stats for Years 6-9:

χ^2 = 4.18612, p = 0.2421, Cramer's V = 0.13433
Lambda (asymmetric) = 0.00000 with Var 43 dependent
= 0.08333 with Var 40 dependent

SPEEDSET MOORE BUSINESS FORMS

GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
CANADA

PUPIL WITHDRAWAL FORM

INSTRUCTIONS

1. Each principal will complete this form for each pupil at his school who has withdrawn and ceases to be registered. Completed reports are required, therefore, for transfers and graduates, as well as drop-outs. When a withdrawal occurs during the academic year, this form is to be completed immediately, and Copy No. 2 sent at once to the Superintendent of Education in the Region concerned.

2. **The principal will, on or before September 30:**
   (a) Extract and destroy the remaining copy for those pupils who have returned to school after a temporary withdrawal in the previous academic year.
   (b) Complete the form for each pupil who has not returned to school following the holidays, sending Copy No. 2 to the Superintendent of Education in the Region concerned.
   (c) Submit Copy No. 1 for all withdrawals in the previous academic year, September to June, and for all pupils who did not return to school following the holidays, to the Department of Education, Yellowknife.
   (d) If there have been **NO** withdrawals from your school during the past academic year, please complete Sections A and E on Copy No. 1, sign, and forward as in (c) above.

Note: The reporting of withdrawals on this form will enable teachers to record data on withdrawals as they occur, and at the same time ensure that the Regional Office is informed immediately of each student who withdraws from school.

A. Identification of school

1. Name of school

2. Settlement in which school is located

B. Student

1. Name (print)
   (Surname) (Given names)

2. Home settlement (if different from location of school)

3. Sex: Male ☐ 1 Female ☐ 2

4. Racial status: Eskimo ☐ 1 Indian ☐ 2 Other ☐ 3

5. Date of birth: (day) (month) (year)

6. Month of withdrawal from school (specify) _____ 197__

C. Grade in which last registered (check one only of 00 to 13)

Pre-school	☐ 00	Grade VII	☐ 07
Grade I	☐ 01	Grade VIII	☐ 08
Grade II	☐ 02	Grade IX	☐ 09
Grade III	☐ 03	Grade X	☐ 10
Grade IV	☐ 04	Grade XI	☐ 11
Grade V	☐ 05	Grade XII	☐ 12
Grade VI	☐ 06	Vocational, occupational or special program	☐ 13

Did this student successfully complete the grade checked above? Yes ☐ 1 No ☐ 2

D. Intended destination at time of withdrawal (check one only of 01 to 18)

1. Continuing education at:
   - An elementary or secondary school administered by the Gov't. of the N.W.T. ☐ 01
   - An elementary or secondary school not administered by the Gov't. of the N.W.T. and
     - (a) located in the N.W.T. ☐ 02
     - (b) located outside the N.W.T. ☐ 03
   - University or affiliated colleges ☐ 04
   - Teachers college ☐ 05
   - Business college ☐ 06
   - Trade school ☐ 07
   - Technical institute or community college ☐ 08
   - School of nursing ☐ 09
   - Other educational institution ☐ 10
   - (specify) _____

2. To employment: _____ (specify occupation) ☐ 11

3. To other destination:
   - Marriage (girls only) ☐ 12
   - Helping at home-domestic duties (girls only) ☐ 13
   - Corrective institution ☐ 14
   - Illness or disability ☐ 15
   - Death ☐ 16
   - Out of work ☐ 17
   - Other ☐ 18
   - (specify) _____

E. See Instruction No. 2 (d) above
If no withdrawals occurred during the last academic year, please check ☐

_____ Signature of Principal

_____ Date

Action by Selection and Placement Officer